Daily Report

East Europe

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Approximately 150,000 Serb Refugees 'on the Move'

AU0808113895 Paris AFP in English 1115 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Aug 8 (AFP)—Approximately 150,000 people are on the move in the Krajina area and northern Bosnia and as far as Serbia proper, a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman estimated Tuesday [8 August].

"In the last three years this the fastest and largest movement to come at any one time," spokesman Ron Redmond added.

He refused to describe the population movement as "ethnic cleansing," although he admitted "certainly, it has the potential to become just that."

"Of course it depends on what sorts of reports of abuses, alleged abuses and other attacks we receive and it also is going to depend of course on whether these people are able to go back to their homes," he continued.

The UNHCR Monday voiced its concern to the Croatian Government over attacks on refugee convoys, Redmond said, adding he did not have enough information to say whether the attacks were from the ground or from the air.

"The UNHCR is very concerned about reports of tens of thousands of Serbs who are stuck as far we know in two areas," Redmond said.

An estimated 30,000 are along a road southeast of Glina, in the Krajina area.

"These people were reportedly under attack yesterday and prevented from moving toward the border with Bosnia," he added.

"There are another estimated 10,000 in the hills near Topusko. These people are also still reportedly stuck there because their way is blocked."

In eastern Bosnia, the Moslem enclave of Goradze is being supplied regularly by UNHCR convoys which is "almost a miraculous development," Redmond added.

Bosnian Government leaders began voicing their concern Monday over the sudden wave of Krajina Serb refugees flooding into Bosnia after the massive Croatian army offensive in neighbouring Croatia.

The country's President Alija Izetbegovic argued that the influx of Serbs from the fallen Krajina region in Croatia would change the demographic structure of Bosnia according to a report carried in the Sarajevo daily, OSLOBODJENJE.

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Party Members Attend Belgrade Leftists' Meeting

95P20955A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 27 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by H. Sh. : "'Fraternal' Meeting in Belgrade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting of Balkan leftists just concluded in Belgrade. Naturally, representatives of leftist parties from Albania, Petrit Frangu, Namik Hoti (Ecological Party) and Ramadan Ndreu (Socialist Labor Party) did not forget to come to this meeting. Indeed, they did not come just for the sake of appearances but they felt at home and, what is more important, they made a big contribution to ensuring the success of the "nostalgic" meeting of social communists. With all their hearts, they approved the "Resolution on Ending the War in Bosnia and Removing the Sanctions Against Serbia and Montenegro," but, in addition, they circulated some other gems by means of the Serbian media.

R. Ndreu said, among other things, that "the left in the Balkans must unite, in order to prevent the penetration of foreign forces into the region." Naturally, this tightrope walker did not include Mother Russia in these forces, but he did include the United States and Germany, because these countries cause trouble for our Serbian brothers and do not allow them to march through the Balkans. Certainly, these Albanians went to Belgrade to see who could be the biggest clown. N. Hoti said: "Serbia has always been the center of the Balkans, a country which greatly helped Albania, providing several hundred tons of grain and building railroads and hydroelectric power plant..." And then, shedding tears for earlier days, the consummate Enverist [supporter of Enver Hoxha] would like to repeat the old days and turn back the wheel of history. "We want a strong Yugoslavia today, one which will help us and, if this occurs, the big powers will no longer meddle in our affairs," But if we carry Hoti's idea to its conclusion, this means that the Serbs can do what they want, after Bosnia, with Kosova and all the Albanians because ideology is stronger than blood. P. Frangu was not silent either, saying that "the sanctions must be removed because they are directed against two friendly peoples: Albanians and Serbs!!!" Any comment would be superfluous, wouldn't it?

And finally, what would you say in response to the question: "Who is the Albanians' real enemy?"

Berisha Offers 'Tourist Sites' to Landowners

AU0808082495 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 3 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Emin Barci: "Let Us Populate the Coast"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We must turn our faces to the sea," President Berisha said yesterday at a meeting organized with the chairmen and prefects of coastal municipalities and districts. Yesterday, the president laid out a "historic commitment" of populating our entire coastal strip. In fact, the goal of this announcement is to take the wind out of the sails of the right-wing movement against the land laws approved in the last four years and against the Democratic Party [PD] itself. The real purpose of the meeting was for Berisha to express his full support for the parliament in its approval of the Law on the Sale and Purchase of Land. Moreover, it appears that Berisha imagines that the call of the waves and the phrase "tourist sites" will lead the right wing to give up their inherited property and populate the coast, according to the president's plans. At yesterday's meeting, Berisha explained to those present that they were successfully acting on the decisions of the PD National Council. According to Berisha, the council supposedly decided to compensate the owners of agricultural land with plots in tourist areas. "We are dealing with a key issue in the PD program, which we have promised to act on," Berisha said. He later announced that "the parliament, by approving the Law on the Sale and Purchase of Land, made owners out of 2.27 million Albanians. This meeting of Berisha's took place at a time when a petition has been handed to parliament with about 300,000 signatures asking for the repeal of the 1991 Land Law and of the Law on the Sale and Purchase of Land approved a few days ago. The Rightist League also submitted to the Constitutional Court yesterday a request to declare unconstitutional the Law on the Sale and Purchase of Land. Today, the league is starting protest rallies in the capital against the land policies of the parliament and the PD. For the president's part, he did not omit to resort yesterday to the policy of divide and rule. "Certain elements and groups are making a fuss and attempting to create the impression that only a small group of families were or are landowners in Albania," Berisha said, targeting Sabri Godo. By this statement, Berisha is trying to "open the

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eyes" of the Republicans and the Rightist League to the idea that their leader Godo is politically manipulating them for the sake of his personal interests connected with his family's former property.

At yesterday's meeting, Berisha set tasks to the prefects and district chairmen to urgently submit to the prime minister's office before 13 August details of the areas that might and should be used as compensation. For this purpose, Berisha has placed the Topographical Institute and Construction Ministry specialists at their disposal. He wishes, thereby, to create the impression that the former owners will receive compensation in the form of coastal tourist sites. The land to be placed at the disposal of the Territorial Regulation Commission will be sold at auction, either for cash or for bonds.

From the political angle, Berisha's behavior yesterday and the land policy of the PD will no doubt contribute to the PD's isolation before the coming elections. With the Law on the Sale and Purchase of Land and its attitude to the right wing, it appears that the PD has given up all its dreams of an alliance or coalition with the rightists.

Party Heads View Coastal Plans

AU0808082595 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 5 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Miliana Balla and Emin Barci: "Berisha Will Turn the Coast Into Bathore"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two days ago, Berisha turned specially toward the Ionian Sea, assembled the local officials of the coastal districts, and said that the Albanians must turn their eyes to the sea. He considered this idea to be a "historic commitment." Berisha also said that former landowners will receive physical compensation in the form of coastal plots and that the state will sell land on the coast. We asked several leaders of political parties for their opinion of the president's latest idea.

Neritan Ceka, Democratic Alliance

[Ceka] Yesterday's statement by Berisha about "looking toward the sea" reminds me of what Enver Hoxha once said about "climbing the hills and mountains." The truth is, however, that the Albanians are already looking to the coast. According to demographic statistics, the greater part of our population is concentrated on the coastal strip. Looking to the coast is a problem of economic priorities. It must be tackled on the basis of the work of institutes and economists, who know best what this movement will cost. In my opinion, the bill for this will be several billion dollars. Transferring people from the highland zones to the coast requires the construction of apartments, roads, water utilities, an electricity grid, etc. We must put a stop to such policies built on dreams. As for compensation to the landowners, part of this idea comes from the program of the Democratic Alliance, which favors compensation through plots or property rights in state-owned farms. However, this too must be carried out on the basis of a study that cannot be completed by 15 August as President Berisha has said. These political campaigns lead to failure and catastrophe. The Albanian coast has been lucky to have remained untouched so far, and I cannot imagine it as the government of today does, resembling the outskirts of Tirana with cows and goats, without drainage, awash with garbage, with people not knowing how to pass the time and wandering the streets of Tirana and causing trouble. Such economic and political adventures should be restrained in Albania. Such population movements are ridiculous. In a market economy, movements are determined by the creation of jobs and the creation of infrastructure, not by political whim. Experiments of this kind have failed throughout the world, as in the cases of Brasilia and thousands of villages of this sort in France, which are now deserted. If Berisha has conceived this as a political action to distribute benefits to his own people, I assure you that it will fail. It has always been a tendency of Berisha to create a stratum of beneficiaries whom he conceives as a basis for his personal power. I cannot accept a migration of people and flocks and the building of wooden and stone huts on the coast. This would be an ecological catastrophe, an act of theft, and a destruction of national assets.

Sabri Godo, Republican Party

[Godo] Berisha has suddenly discovered the unknown territory of the coast. For me, pointing out the blue sea to people is something done for propaganda effect. But I do not know how the government can achieve this project. As far as I am concerned, every inch of the coast belongs to its owners. Berisha's project can only be carried out if the government intervenes to dislodge the owners. Even the idea of compensating former owners with coastal plots is a bluff. I do not understand how on one hand the state will put up for sale tourist plots and at the same time will use this same land to compensate the owners. Of course there are vacant areas that might later be made habitable with the development of the economy and infrastructure, but I cannot imagine today any migration of a section of the population toward the coast. I also fear that we might have civil conflict if that happens.

Servet Pellumbi, Socialist Party

[Pellumbi] I see this idea mainly, if not entirely, as propaganda closely connected to the election campaign. Some initiatives that the president has launched, like

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yesterday's and that of the privatization bonds, are also, for me, evidence of something else that strikes me as very important: The Meksi government has neither the authority nor the necessary ability to enforce the laws and decrees it itself issues, and even the intervention of the president does not add anything to these edicts. After all, compensation for owners was decided a long time ago, even though it has not been enforced. But exploiting the coastal strip by chopping it up and giving every Albanian wherever he maybe a handful of sand and a glass of sea water does not serve the country's interests, or the development of the coast's tourist potential, which will be of such benefit to our country's future economic development. With this theory, Berisha is trying to create new Bathores [reference to shantytown built by northern migrants on outskirts of Tirana] and is thinking of gaining the votes of the northeast and elsewhere in this way. However, this is not the way to meet the needs of the northeast. It will end in chaos.

Petrit Kalakulla, Democratic Party of the Right

[Kalakulla] I see something else in this statement, instructions issued by the president to encourage people to head for the coast. His statement "Let us turn our eyes toward the sea" reminds me of those rumors of 1990, 1991, and 1992, when word spread among some highland peasants, "Right, men, let's head down to the fertile plains regardless of whose land it is." I have the impression that the suggestion comes from abroad. It is subtle demagoguery on Berisha's part to deceive the disgusted landowners, throwing them a bone because he has nothing else to give them. Berisha is speculating with the poverty and the difficult and hopeless situation of the legitimate landowners, promising to compensate them with fragments of the coastline. However, it must be remembered that the coastline is one of our most valuable national assets and any speculation with the coast will be fraught with very serious consequences for the future of the country's economic and social development. I see this initiative of Berisha's as very dangerous behavior that could have very serious repercussions. I do not doubt that the owners will be thrown a bone, while the prime cuts will be given to Albanian and foreign speculators in collaboration with those in power today. The appetite and attention of the members of the government have long been turned toward the coast. It is said that some of them long ago took land to build their seaside villas. With these measures, they are seeking to legitimize their illegal actions and to whitewash their underhanded deeds. I can see a trend to destroy even the coast, that small part of our country that has remained unspoiled.

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Kozloduy Reactor Shutdown Not Caused by Emergency

AU0808103595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 8 Aug 95

[Report by Khristina Angelova from Kozloduy]

[FBIS Translated Text] The No. 4 reactor unit at the Kozloduy nuclear power station has been shut down after the management received permission from the Committee on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. The shutdown, which was carried out last night, is not because of any emergency, but is to enable repair work to be carried out on the second, nonradioactive circuit. The No. 4 unit is expected to be brought back into service by the end of the week.

At the moment only two of the six reactor units are in operation at the nuclear station. The No. 3 reactor is generating 400 megawatts, while the 1,000-megawatt No. 5 reactor is producing 610 megawatts. The other reactors are undergoing planned maintenance.

Pavlov Denies Charge of Army 'Repoliticization'

AU0808073395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov rejected the charges of a repoliticization of the Armed Forces that President Zhelyu Zhelev mentioned in his speech to graduates of the Rakovski Military Academy. Asked to comment on the president's words, Defense Minister Pavlov said that, in his view, this speech is not aimed against the Bulgarian Army, the General Staff, nor against the Defense Ministry. I assume, Minister Pavlov said, that the president's reproof is aimed against the legislators and the work of parliament.

As one of the sponsors of the bill on defense and the Armed Forces, Dimitur Pavlov rejected the president's accusation that through this law the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] will place the Army under its control. Not only the president, but I, too, as defense minister, will never allow the splitting of the Army or its repoliticization, Pavlov said, as quoted by BTA.

Council Approves Mass Privatization Procedure

AU0708190895 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 7 Aug 95

[Report by Bilyana Mikhaylova on a special session of the Council of Ministers in Sofia—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Council of Ministers is continuing its special session. It adopted a decision on organizing the first phase of mass privatization. It approved an order on the issue, receipt, and registration of voucher books and an order on the procedure for organizing and holding the centralized auctions for the sale of shares in companies included in the mass privatization program.

This completes the entire legal basis for the mass privatization. It only remains for parliament to complete the second reading of the Law on Privatization Funds. The version approved by the government today is based on two others that were discussed, but the one that the government approved by consensus today provides for every Bulgarian citizen over 18 years to receive, in return for a payment of 500 leva [Lv], a book containing vouchers worth Lv25,000 for the first phase of mass privatization and a further Lv25,000 for the second phase. The vouchers are issued by name and cannot be sold before they have been invested in the privatization funds or before they have reached the centralized auctions, but they may be transferred to direct relatives or to indirect relatives not more than twice removed.

The cabinet also decided how the shares acquired could be sold. They may be sold six months after the completion of the auction of the enterprise in question. The list of companies to be privatized contains the names of 150 to 200 firms. They are in a good financial state and are from all sectors of industry, including fine hotels and major banks, Deputy Prime Minister Rumen Gechev said. I will not only offer companies from the banned list [zabranitelniya spisok], he said, and added that the list of enterprises for the mass privatization is be submitted to the Council of Ministers by 20 September and submitted to parliament 10 days later.

Gechev said that, in many cases, enterprises are to be sold off by a combination of cash and mass privatization so as ensure their privatization and at the same time to inject fresh money into them. In such cases, between 31 and 70 percent of the companies' shares will be offered for mass privatization.

The voucher books are to be printed by 7 October, and it is hoped that registration will commence on 11 November. Before this date, Gechev said, we are planning a big information campaign to explain the mechanism of the voucher privatization, citizens' rights and responsibilities, and so on.

This is all the information available at present. We expect to provide more details in later news programs.

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Deputy Minister Against Recall of Czech UN Units

LD0808092395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0500 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Czech Radio has asked Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Bratinka about his view on further activities of Czech units on the territory of the former Yugoslavia:

[Begin Bratinka recording] It is obvious that the conditions for the operation of UN units have radically changed now that the territory of Serb Krajina is controlled by the Croatian Government. However, it is possible that the UN Security Council and the Croatian Government will agree on a new role for these units. In my view, our country should act responsibly and leave our units there.

A number of countries have their units deployed on the whole territory of the former Yugoslavia. Many of these countries are thousands of miles away from Yugoslavia and what happens in Yugoslavia is not as relevant to their own national interests as it is in our case. I believe that we should be responsible and wait for the outcome of future talks on UN mandates rather than request that our units be recalled. I think that by recalling our units, we will have failed our responsibility—a responsibility held in this situation by every European country. [end recording]

Klaus Discusses Domestic Economic Development

AU0808081795 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 4 Aug 95 pp 1, 3

["Regular" interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Eva Martinkova in Prague on 3 August: "Let Us Not Demonize the Trade Unionists on Election Slates"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Passage omitted] [Martinkova] Are you troubled by the trade unionists on political parties' election slates?

[Klaus] I am against politicizing the trade unions but, at the same time, we should not demonize this problem. After all, the trade unionist is a free citizen, and his being in a trade union does not disqualify him from any other human activities, of which politics is one. Let us not make it into an artificial problem.

[Martinkova] Why are the recent figures on sharp economic growth so surprising?

[Klaus] We have a problem with the data from the Czech Statistical Office [CSU]. We await every figure anxiously, to see in which direction the Czech economy is moving. The CSU has been telling us for six months that industrial output is growing by 4.3 percent just to eventually change the figure to 7.7 percent, which certainly is great, but it complicates our orientation. Namely, statistics are the fundamental sources for decisionmaking. The adjusted final data of the CSU markedly differ from the current data reported throughout the period. Last year's exports figure was changed, for instance, to a significantly lower amount than the earlier indicators inferred. So, we do have a problem with statistics.

[Martinkova] How come such a singular economic growth is not a result of increased exports as is common in small economies?

[Klaus] So far, it was the services sector that progressed very fast and made up for the decline in industry. The construction industry fared a little better. This year, a pivotal change is occurring—industrial production is accelerating fast by the aforementioned 7.7 percent, construction by 9 percent, and services even faster. The only major sector that is declining in the economy is transport. That is nothing wrong. It indicates a rationalization of the transport flow because everyone is minimizing transport costs. Hence, the growth of the GDP in the first half of 1995 will be very fast, close to 5 percent. I cannot but add that we have actually expected such a growth.

[Martinkova] Why are exports growing so slowly?

[Klaus] We have recorded a very rapid growth of exports in recent years. When the economy logically stagnated, the domestic demand was very low and therefore the manufacturers wanted to sell abroad. This year, the domestic demand is growing, and it does not come as a surprise that there is less left to the manufacturers for exports. Skoda Mlada Boleslav, for instance, could easily export Felicia cars, but the need to satisfy the domestic market forces the company to cut the exports.

[Martinkova] So it has nothing to do with Czech goods not being competitive?

[Klaus] Czech goods are as competitive as they are. It does not change from one day to the next. It is a certain constant of the Czech economy just as it is of the U.S., Japanese, or Dutch economies. What is changing on the short-term basis is the macroeconomic situation: The demand fluctuates both at home and abroad. Contrary to the general layman's cognition, these short-term and medium-term moves in exports and imports are not caused by some pivotal changes in competitiveness, but rather by moves in demand. I would not draw any pessimistic conclusions from it.

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Minister Admits Research, Development Problems

AU0808073595 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Aug 95 p 8

[Article by "(bel)": "Dlouhy Has Admitted Problems in Research and Exports"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I am aware of certain problems that exist in the research, development, and export spheres," admitted Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy (Civic Democratic Alliance) in reply to an interruption from Deputy Marie Stiborova (Left Bloc). At the same time, however, he declared that his ministry is tackling this issue unremittingly in cooperation with the other state administration bodies.

According to Dlouhy, the Export Guarantee and Insurance Company [EGAP] and the Czech Export Bank support exports. "EGAP's potential to insure political risks is, however, conditional upon the amount of insurance reserves generated by deposits from the state budget and insurance revenue. They were almost completely exhausted by the end of last year," said Dlouhy.

The resources to support research and development are limited and, since 1990, have not exceeded the sum of 100 million korunas [Kc] for the Trade and Industry Ministry in individual years. "Given the department's current jurisdiction, that was a small sum," stated Dlouhy. According to Dlouhy, however, there has been "an obvious and specific turnabout" in drafting the 1996 budget. It has been proposed that the sum of Kc331 million be released from the state budget for the Trade and Industry Ministry to support research and development.

Poll Ascertains Level of Trust in Institutions

AU0708135995 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 5 Aug 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Trust in Constitutional Institutions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While 78 percent of citizens trust the president of the Czech Republic and 52 percent trust the government, only 26 percent of respondents trust the parliament. This is apparent from the results of a July poll conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research. Some 96 percent of Civic Democratic Party [ODS] supporters trust the president; 77 percent of potential Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] voters and 47 percent of the supporters of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] and the other left-wing entities trust him. The parliament is trusted by 51 percent of ODS supporters, 11 percent of CSSD supporters, and 13 percent of the supporters of the KSCM and the other left-wing entities. Eighty-seven percent of ODS, 36 percent of CSSD, and 23 percent of KSCM, Left Bloc, and Party of the Democratic Left supporters trust the government. Communists—51 percent—express the most obvious mistrust of the president, while respondents sympathizing with the CSSD (61 percent) and the communists (75 percent) do not trust the government. Eighty-three percent of CSSD supporters and 86 percent of communists do not trust the parliament.

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DU: HZDS Has Fund 'To Corrupt' Deputies

AU0808082295 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 5 Aug 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "(suj)": "J. Moravcik: If Anyone Is Planning a Hot Fall, It Is the Governing Coalition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"The opposition is not planning a September putsch or a hot fall; it seems more likely to me that such objectives could be quite tenable for the current coalition," said Democratic Union [DU] chairman Jozef Moravcik to NARODNA OBRODA yesterday in response to the reiterated forecasts of a fall putsch by Slovak National Party chairman Jan Slota.

According to Moravcik, a reason for such objectives may be the fact that the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and its coalition satellites have not yet managed to win over a sufficient number of deputies to recall the president. Therefore, the HZDS intends to attempt to corrupt opposition deputies, for which it has allegedly established a special fund amounting to 200 million korunas. "I am, however, absolutely convinced that this is in vain and that they will not succeed, because this is not a matter of money, but of conviction," stated Moravcik. He is of the opinion that, instead of fabricating "such stupidities," the governing coalition should demonstrate that it knows how to govern and fulfill its election promises. He also pointed out that, in addition to the increases in the prices of energy, telephones, and fares and to the other impacts of the government's decisions, the Slovak Republic's trade deficit is rising, and that is a very bad sign, because the situation in surrounding countries is improving in this regard.

Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] Deputy Chairman Ivan Simko has no information on the establishment of the kind of HZDS fund Moravcik spoke about, but if it exists, it will, according to him, be ineffective with regard to the KDH. He also rejected the speculation that the opposition is planning a putsch in the fall.

Slender Majority Against President's Resigning

AU0808082395 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 3 Aug 95 p 2

[TASR report: "The Public's Views on the President's Staying"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Forty-two percent of the adult population of Slovakia support the view that Michal Kovac should remain in office as president. Thirty-six percent favor his resignation. This is apparent from a representative public opinion poll conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research attached to the Slovak Statistical Office. While in central Slovakia 43 percent favor M. Kovac's resignation, in Bratislava 29 percent of the respondents were in favor. In central Slovakia, 36 percent were opposed to his resignation, while in Bratislava 49 percent were of this opinion.

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Kovacs Explains Proposal on Former Yugoslavia

LD0708210795 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian blitzkrieg has undeniably activated the machinery of international politics. President Yeltsin invited Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to Moscow.

And the Hungarian proposal made earlier is on the agenda, for the OSCE to propose new negotiations, possibly in Budapest, on a lasting settlement. We asked the Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs about this.

[Begin Kovacs recording] Hungary, as a country neighboring the crisis zone, is in a very difficult situation, and the possibility of the situation becoming more difficult, unfortunately, is not ruled out. I am thinking here of the waves of refugees, I am thinking of the economic losses caused by the embargo against Yugoslavia [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—FRY], of the indirect dangers, and if it escalates, perhaps the direct dangers, threatening the security of Hungary.

This is one aspect of the issue. It is very much in Hungary's interest for the crisis to be settled as soon as possible.

Another aspect is that many international organizations have attempted a settlement—the United Nations, the EU, the Western European Union, NATO—but these attempts have been neither successful nor fruitful. At the same time the OSCE, of which Hungary is the current chairman, has not yet been given a role in settling the crisis.

The objective of Gyula Horn's initiative was that, under the aegis of the OSCE and with the OSCE as the initiator, there should be a meeting of the organizations, structures, and countries which are concerned in the crisis and which have an interest in settling it.

The list of participants is now taking shape through consultations, since obviously one of the secrets of success is that it should be attended by everyone necessary to find a solution and it should not be attended by anyone who would hamper reaching a solution.

The objective is to search out the possibilities for a comprehensive, political settlement which obviously must contain an immediate cessation of hostilities and combat actions. It must contain the mutual recognition of the successor states, those which emerged on the territory of the Former Yugoslavia, within the internationally recognized borders. It must guarantee minority rights since without this, stability cannot be created in this region. So the purpose of the conference, which hopefully will be convened here in Hungary, will be to work out these comprehensive, general objectives. [end recording]

Official: OSCE Need Not Answer Krajina Appeal

LD0708124695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The self-declared Republic of Serb Krajina, now occupied by Croatian troops, has called on the OSCE for help. According to the international legal expert [Pal Dunai], Hungary, which is the current OSCE president, is in no way obliged to respond to the request of Krajina in Croatia. [passage omitted] Peter Kovesdi has interviewed Pal Dunai.

[Begin Dunai recording] [Passage omitted] In my view, the request of the foreign minister of Krajina, which is in Croatia, to the OSCE president may be viewed as a request by a private individual to the OSCE president because the members of the OSCE are states and Krajina in Croatia cannot be considered as a state. [end recording]

[Kovesdi] Dunai said that only the signatories of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act could be OSCE members and although the OSCE—or its predecessor, the CSCE—had willingly helped individual organizations and ethnic groups in acquiring an international political role, it had done so, in all cases, with the agreement of its member states. [passage omitted]

Belgrade 'Expects' Intervention

LD0808084495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade expects Hungary, as the current chairman of the OSCE, to intervene in the interest of stopping the Croatian attack against Krajina, the Yugoslav charge d'affaires in Budapest has said. Branko Novakovic, who held discussions with the Hungarian deputy state secretary for foreign affairs, said that Yugoslavia is also seeking support for the resumption of the peace talks on former Yugoslavia.

Keleti: Southern Border Troops Not 'on Alert'

AU0808095595 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Aug 95 pp 1-2

[Report on interview with Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti by an unidentified correspondent in Budapest on 6 August: "No Alert on the Southern Borders"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Asked to evaluate the situation, Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti told NEPSZABADSAG on 6 August that the Hungarian Army is follow-

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ing and evaluating the news and reports on the military action on the Yugoslav fronts. It transpires from these reports that the Croatian troops have achieved much greater successes than expected in a relatively short time.

Keleti told us that the Army must follow the combat action in the former Yugoslavia with particular attention because, in the wake of the military action against the Serb Krajinas, a dangerous situation could also emerge near the Hungarian borders. However, there has been no such incident so far; the [Serb] artillery attack on Eszek [Osijek] was not intended to initiate fighting for territory.

In answer to a question, Keleti told us that the Hungarian troops deployed on our southern borders have not been put on alert as a result of the new developments in the Yugoslav war. Routine activity is going on among the land forces and the air force in accordance with the peacetime training program. Combat aircraft of the Hungarian Air Force are also carrying out their regular alert duties: Air force warplanes can take off in minutes and carry out their tasks if foreign combat aircraft appear in the vicinity of the Hungarian border.

Gyorgy Keleti pointed out that cooperation with the border police and the Border Police Action Unit deployed in Southern Hungary is fully harmonious.

Will Maintain Defense Strategy

LD0808083395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0700 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Defense Minister Gyoergy Keleti, there is no need to alter Hungary's defense strategy on account of the Croatian offensive in Krajina. Speaking on the program "Morning Chronicle," Gyoergy Keleti said that, although the ethnic and economic problems in our region could lead to seats of crisis developing, not only in the former Yugoslav region, but elsewhere, too, this does not represent a threat of war to Hungary. The danger would be greater if fighting were to start in Eastern Slavonia, which is near our borders. However, our country would not get swept into the conflict even then, said the defense minister.

'Democratic Association' Party Established

LD0708214595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A new national party called the Democratic Association [Demokrata Egyesueles] has been set up in Debrecen. The centrist party wants to represent the interests of the provinces. Chairman Gyorgy Juhasz said that the Democratic Association will present an economic policy to the voters with a reliable image of the future.

Turning Point in MSZP's Politics Perceived

95CH0307C Budapest TALLOZO in Hungarian 6 Jul 95 p 1263

[Article by Jozsef Ballai, reprinted from the 27 June issue of VILAGGAZDASAG: "Hungarian Socialist Party at Turning Point"]

[FBIS Translated Text] One year after the victorious parliamentary elections, the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] is forced to face the fact that the voters did not vote for a harsh, uncomfortable, restrictive shock therapy.

Moreover, the survey described at the weekend meeting of the executive board also revealed that party members would expect decisions to be made after a consultation with them; after all, we are not talking about a party of the government, rather a government of the party.

Sandor Nagy explained in an interview with precisely VILAGGAZDASAG that even the trade unions, which had not a small part in the victory, have no role in the decisionmaking mechanism, because the only ones listened to are those who support everything without reservation. The membership of the party feels somewhat superfluous, declared Ivan Vitanyi, president of the executive board, adding that one must calculate the resultant force of two divergent vectors: of restrictions and of society's expectations.

After the marathon session by the parliamentary group, Imre Szekeres said that the group of representatives provided the political background for the government, but it indented to grant a larger role to the will of the voters than before (by this he meant a more direct relationship with the voters), and instead of summer vacations, they would have a detailed discussion of next year's budget proposal.

Some members of the parliamentary group complained that if everything continued unchanged, the MSZP would suffer the fate of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], and would lose its base of voters together with its popularity. The smaller governing party, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] made clear that next year it would support growth as opposed to restrictions.

Formerly, faced with the dissatisfaction of society, the MDF solution to the dilemma was to soften, and later completely dissolve, its economic program. Still, it was unable to avoid failure in the election.

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The MSZP did exactly the opposite, because only after hesitating for nine months did it resolve to implement the restrictions forced on it by reality, but without promoting their acceptance by society (for want of adequate communication methods) at least by painting an attractive picture of the future.

Today it is impossible to know exactly how the leading party and the government will reply to the certainly shocking external and internal criticism; diminishing popularity and relative failure are not the best advisors. At any rate, the country's interest dictates not to embrace populist arguments in its decisions, and to maneuver skillfully on the not too wide boundary between social expectations and restrictions.

Commentary Urges 'Coherent Economic Policy'

AU0808080695 Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 3 Aug 95 p 5

[Commentary by Laszlo Lengyel: "Dying"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In March, I hoped that they would become sober. The prime minister, the political parties, and the interest groups fighting behind them had to realize that the government's impotence and the system's complete submission to the tugging of interest groups would mercilessly result in Hungary's international devaluation. This devaluation would be a disadvantage even for the temporarily victorious political and economic groups, from being swept to the edge of Europe. The [Former Finance Minister] Bekesi package, which was formulated with [Finance Minister] Lajos Bokros's name, and Bokros's first gestures indicated that the [former communist party leader] Kadar-model's reorganization might be started and a governmental economic policy might escape from the tugging of interest groups. Naive people, including myself, believed that there would be a team, and this professional team would have enough intellectual power to draw up a coherent economic policy with moral and political power, adhere to what it created, and resign if it does not work.

We had some experiences. We knew that the Hungarian finance ministers (Rabar, Kupa, Bekesi) did not manage to—either did not want to or were not allowed—work out an economic policy, formulate draft bills, or achieve changed structures. We remembered that an economic policy experiment never lasted longer than a few months, if that. By that time, the politician prime minister caught up with it, political parties knocked it down, and the resistance of the interest groups became organized. It is also a sad experience that, since 1987, no one has tried to create an economic policy with anyone other than the apparatus that had also created the previous economic policy, which became mentally and intellectually desiccated in the daily routine, and which did not have the inclination, the time, nor the power to work for a strategic future.

The Horn government still owes us an economic policy. I swear that we are not expecting some kind of beautiful image of the future, great horizons, a thirteenth patchwork concoction from the government—we just want a pragmatic economic policy for the remaining period of the cycle. State administration, restriction, anti-inflation monetary and fiscal policy, a privatization concept, ideas on the future of the state trade banks—neither Bekesi nor Bokros have made this kind of policy, plan of action, or draft laws.

In the autumn of 1994, this government did not submit tax bills forming a coherent system that it would maintain throughout the cycle. This system can be tough or ruthless, but it should be certain and predictable. I admit that I expect the same in Bokros's second package: The government will submit the draft bills of the tax system that it intends not for 1996, but for the coming three years (1996-98), swearing that it will not change them come hell or high water, or more precisely, it will include these possibilities in the system. (Can we hope for this? Why not? If the Bokros-Suranyi [chairman of central bank] pair was able to make the exchange rate devaluation predictable and based on a mechanism, then this can also be done with the tax system. Naturally, this excludes the possibility of the prime minister thinking of a new type of tax every other day, or the finance minister hinting at the introduction of new taxes with satanic laughter).

However, the second Bokros package is late. The government has returned to its delaying policy of "let us consider this comrades," "I will not be party to further exploitation of the people," and "we must still work carefully on this, gentlemen." The only success of the finance minister is that it managed to decide a 12 billion forint [Ft] reduction of the expenditure in a budget exceeding Ft2,000 billion. However, how could he freely make an economic policy when he has been defeated and pushed aside in privatization, taught a lesson in the affairs of the National Savings Bank and partly the trade banks, forced into supporting dying industrial branches, and was unable even to start the anti-inflation policy? (Unfortunately, in all these areas, he either did not have any, or had a bad and indefensible concept. I am still amazed that a macroeconomist trade banker was unable to say anything sensible on these issues).

No problem, we could be saying, they have at last started the reform of the state administration that was

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postponed for years. The finance minister has indeed proposed changes, but they are still far from the possibility of being regulated by laws. The government has not even decided on the main directions. It has returned to its old form, which means that all decisions must be made by it, but it does not make any decisions. Its only decision is that something has to be done as soon as possible, but it has again postponed deciding what should be done. I am not surprised.

Since the almighty prime minister has lost his immediate fear and dread, and learned that, although the West does not like us, we will not instantly fail, his withdrawal could be expected. He has been searching for ways of substituting Bokros and separating him from his further programs ever since he returned from the United States. He proved it to the West that he had tried it. He accepted unpopularity. They cannot expect more than this. There is no political success in adhering to Bokros. The Moor has done his job, the Moor can go. He [the prime minister] must show success at the November Socialist congress. He must keep the conflicts in control and must defeat the coup attempts in his party.

[At the same time, the signs of tameness and turning into a politician can clearly be seen in Bokros. The financial situation is improving, he is even willing to exercise some self-criticism in front of the parliamentary groups of the governing parties. We saw the same signs in Kupa—who was "dropped" by [then prime minister] Antall—who was able to remain a politician after his program had failed. The only hope for Bokros (and perhaps the country) would be if the finance minister bombarded the profession and public opinion with ideas, proposals, and an intention to cooperate, in other words, if he worked hard and did not deal with politics—if he used his brains rather than his fist, and showed action rather than words. He has nothing to lose. He can fail in this case, too, but at least he would have been of some use. Otherwise, in a political tactical battle, he will certainly be defeated; he will be sent away like a bad servant, and a patchwork budget, a hastily made restrictive policy consisting of bits and pieces and numerous bad gestures will be left after him. We, on the other hand, have plenty to lose. First of all, we will again lose a year. A political cycle. And who knows, perhaps even more. This is the agony.

Implications of Privatization Process Reviewed

95CH0307A Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian 6 Jul 95 p 20

[Unattributed article: "The Income Proves the Rule; The Bequest of the State Property Management Corporation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The State Privatization and Asset Management Corporation [APV Rt.] is the legal successor of privatizing organizations, and thus, privatization can continue without accounting for state property.

The APV Rt. started its operation with 1721 firms, with an inherited property of 1,687 billion forints [Ft]. According to the privatization law, the property is acquired by APV Rt. by capital reduction. The company's subscribed capital is Ft289.1 billion, of which 9.7 billion is cash, comprised of approximately fifty-fifty in contributions from the State Property Agency [AVU] and the State Property Management Corporation [AV Rt.]. Half of the cash portion of the capital is expected to be spent on the privatization of larger firms, while Ft3 billion will be used for APV Rt.'s cost of operation. APV Rt.'s equity capital—its portfolio—is part of the company's subscribed capital, and the attributed property—the entrepreneurial portfolio of AVU and the Treasury Assets Management Agency [KVSZ]—is part of its own capital. Therefore, when APV Rt. sells the latter companies or real estate, it will not need to reduce the subscribed capital. At the moment there is a dispute between the State Auditor General's Office [ASZ] and APV Rt. on whether property should be sold on the basis of capital net worth or subscribed capital. The ASZ thinks that the capital net worth should be recouped in the price of the company. According to APV Rt. officials, there will be such companies, and they hope that the Hungarian Oil and Natural Gas Corporation [Mol Inc.] and the Hungarian Telecommunications Enterprise [MATAV] will be among them, but this will presumably not be the case with the Hungarian Power Plants Trust [MVM Rt.]

The first steps of APV Rt. are rendered somewhat insecure by the fact that the relevant law does not specify in detail the definition and scope of "attributed property." From the letter of the law it is impossible to determine, or can only be determined by a fairly broad interpretation, that APV Rt. has an absolute right to dispose of attributed property. A restrictive interpretation would mean that according to the regulations of general civil law, the state must be represented by the finance minister. Beyond the fact that this solution is one of the gems of the legal system which we abandoned five years ago, there is a further reservation, namely that the unequivocal intention of the legislator was that the property

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should be administered not by a ministry, nor by a minister, but by a state holding. This contradiction will presumably be removed from the law in early fall.

The operation of the new privatization organization is influenced primarily by the onus to produce income, as stipulated in the Bokros package. Specialists think that this year's income will not even come close to Ft150 billion; according to optimistic estimates, we should be happy if it reaches 60 to 90 billion. All the more, because the balance sheets and financial statements of 1994 have just expired after the first half of the year. Thus, in the remaining six months, the APV Rt. will have to make the companies prepare financial statements, be audited by accountants, publish an invitation for bids, wait for customers, and then make a decision and sign a contract. The obligation of payment to the budget is impossible to meet, if only because the APV Rt., as legal successor, must repay this year the $150 million credit taken out by the AV Rt. Thus, the necessary expenses and the expected payment to the budget would require a privatization income totalling 200 billion.

The situation is further complicated and the process of privatization is slowed down by the fact that the dispute about the privatization of large companies would not cease. Some people think that no really significant privatization income can be expected from the electricity supply industry. Despite this fact, the leaders of APV Rt. do not think that it is their fault that the planned income was not realized. For instance, in order for the energy supply sector to be privatized, a price clause must be prepared by the Ministry of Industry and Trade [IKM] which is indispensable for foreign investors. "As far as the APV Rt. is concerned, everything is prepared, and the invitations for bids could be sent out as early as tomorrow," General Manager Attila Lascsik announced. However, the background of regulations keeps them waiting. "If it was up to the APV Rt., the budget could be enriched by a privatization income of Ft200 billion. However, at least a whole year is necessary to be able to evaluate the performance of the new privatization organization," Lascsik emphasized.

Behind the scenes, the assembly of the leadership of APV Rt. was preceded by hard, sometimes crude, jockeying for position. At the end of last week, APV Rt. announced that the management made a decision about the candidates to fill the positions of assistant general manager. The functional managing director will be Ivan Szandtner, the financial managing director, Miklos Kamaras, the first managing director in charge of transactions will be Tibor Ferenczi, and the second one, Istvan Kocsis—in the second round. In the first, not publicized, meeting of the board of directors, Kocsis was not given a vote of confidence. According to parliamentary sources, the rejection was attributable to the fact that the privatization minister was not present, and that many people thought Kocsis was close to Laszlo Pal, or to the industrial lobby, and would not promote a quick majority privatization of energy supply firms. In the end, Kocsis turned to Tamas Suchman for help, who reconvened the board of directors. According to information available to FIGYELO, the minister very strongly repelled attacks against Kocsis and so, in the end, his protege was awarded a position among the four assistant general managers. However, according to our information, Lascsik would have liked to see Kocsis not in the position of managing director in charge of transactions, but rather as general managing director. The case also indicates that the exit of Pal in itself does not create harmony among Suchman, a politician accepted by the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], and Lajos Bokros who is, according to the majority of Socialist representatives, a "merciless specialist." For this very reason, it is not inconceivable that in the future new disputes will erupt between the finance ministry and the leadership of the APV Rt.

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Sacirbegovic Protests Arrival of Krajina Serbs

LD0708210895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today, Bosnian Foreign Minister Sacirbegovic sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. Our New York correspondent Envera Selimovic has the following report:

[Begin recording] Judging by incoming reports, around 120,000 citizens from the formerly occupied areas of Croatia are crossing the border into Bosnia-Herzegovina, some of them with UN help. This information was said in a letter sent by the Bosnian foreign minister to Butrus-Ghali.

The letter goes on to say that some of these people are members of Krajina Serb leader Milan Martic's army who are crossing the border with their arms, as was the case when western Slavonia was liberated. This increases the danger for non-Serb population in the occupied territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Despite the fact that the Bosnian Government supports UN efforts to protect the threatened people, it cannot accept that they should be accommodated in Bosnia, all the more so since the Croatian Government has guaranteed their safety in the territories it wants to reintegrate.

Therefore, the Bosnian Government requests that the United Nations provide accommodation for the people in the formerly occupied areas, in cooperation with the Croatian Government. [passage omitted] [end recording]

SDA Views Siuation, Silajdzic Resignation

LD0608030895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0000 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An extraordinary session of the main board of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] was held in Zenica today [5 August]. The only two items on the agenda were: the current military and political situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the government crisis resulting from the resignation of Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic at the last session of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The importance and the topicality of the issues were reflected in the fact that the session was attended by Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the SDA president; Army Gen Rasim Delic, chief of the General Staff of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the commanders of all army corps except the 5th; members of the SDA executive; SDA deputies of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly; members of the SDA court of honor; SDA members of the government; representatives of the SDA cantonal, district, and municipal committees; representatives of the Islamic community and by many other political and public personalities.

Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the SDA, spoke about the current military and political situation and the situation caused by the decision by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic to offer to resign.

Delic, spoke about the topical military situation. Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic reported on our country's international position and activites on the international scene connected with events in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Proposes Alternative Candidates

LD0608221995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] An extraordinary session of the Main Committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] was held in Zenica yesterday. [passage omitted]

The SDA Main Committee adopted the following stands and conclusions:

The fall of the protected areas of Srebrenica and Zepa is a consequence of the disgraceful attitude of the international community toward its commitments. The SDA Main Committee vehemently condemns this, and calls on its members and state bodies to do everything in their power to secure temporary accommodation for the evicted population and improve their living conditions. Political and military bodies are called upon to continue searching for missing persons and inform the public about their findings. Support has been given to the efforts made for the defense of Gorazde and Sarajevo and the lifting of the blockades on them.

The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is improving, particularly in the zone of responsibility of the 5th Corps. Combat activities that are under way in the wake of the signing of the Split Agreement, between Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, may represent watershed developments in the war. The Main Committee extends its congratulations to General Atif Dudakovic, the 5th Corps commander, and his courageous fighters. Full support has been given to the population and fighters of the Bihac region in the defense of this region. A high-ranking delegation of the party should pay a visit to the region as soon as possible. Members of Abdic's paramilitary forces are called upon to surrender to the 5th Corps; they will be treated in accordance with the Law on Amnesty.

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The Main Committee welcomes the statement by the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference] Contact Group that, following the international betrayal of Srebrenica and Zepa, they will ignore the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this context the SDA expresses its gratitude to Malaysia and Iran for their readiness to offer aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina in accordance with this decision.

Gratitude was also expressed to the U.S. Congress for its decision to lift unilaterally the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Main Committee supports the Split Agreement and its positive consequences for the further development of the federation and close cooperation between the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia. The Main Committee also welcomed the coordination and military cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and their successes in the defense of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the two countries.

Support for the Contact Group plan was expressed, as were that can still lead to realistic, mutual recognition by the sovereign states of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro, to the effective closure of the border with Serbia and Montenegro and the isolation of the Pale Serbs, particularly war criminals Karadzic and Mladic.

With regard to the resignation by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic the SDA Main Committee concluded, with regret, that no explanation has been given; there is a possibility of different interpretations that could be detrimental to the country. Although every public official has the right to resign, Haris Silajdzic's resignation at this moment, due to the seriousness of the situation and the position of the country, shows a lack of the sense of responsibility on his part. [Words indistinct] everything that can threaten the unity of the nation at this critical moment of our liberation struggle, the Main Committee calls on Haris Silajdzic to retract his resignation. If Silajdzic fails to do so by 9 August this year, President Izetbegovic is called upon to convene a session of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina for 10 August, propose the acceptance of the resignation, and [words indistinct] for the appointment of a new prime minister-designate.

The Main Committee has put forward the following list of candidates for the new prime minister-designate:

- Hasan Muratovic, the current minister for liaison with the United Nations;
- Fatima Leko, the director general of Sarajevo Privredna Banka;
- Professor Kasim Begic, the dean of the Law Faculty in Sarajevo;
- Safet Orucevic, the mayor of Mostar;
- Mehmed Corhodzic, the director of Borac company from Travnik;
- Professor Izudin Kapetanovic, dean of the Faculty of Electrical Engineering in Tuzla.

The list is not final. The preliminary selection should be carried out on the basis of submitted programs by the candidates; when selecting the prime minister of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, selection should be carried out after consultations with the Croat side. If obstacles arise in the realization of the aforementioned process, a session of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be convened immediately.

The Main Committee calls on the government to forward, without delay, to the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina a refined draft law on war and military invalids and families of fallen soldiers, and the law on the taxation of profit. The Presidency is called on to [words indistinct] these laws.

The SDA Main Committee expresses full confidence in (?Jusuf Pusina), Muhamed Sacirbegovic, and General Rasim Delic.

Gen Divjak: Zagreb, Belgrade To Divvy Up State

AU0808072995 Paris AFP in English 0203 GMT 8 Aug 95

[Report by Jean Luc Porte]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 8 (AFP)—The threat of partition weighs heavier than ever on Bosnia-Herzegovina following the victory of the Croatian Army over secessionist Serbs in the Krajina region, military experts have warned.

"I think that Presidents Franjo Tudjman (of Croatia) and Slobodan Milosevic (of Serbia) recently reached an agreement on sharing out Bosnia," said Bosnian Army General Jovan Divjak.

Added a western expert: "It's the Bosnians who at the end of the day will pay the price for this military operation in Krajina. The two monsters (Croatia and Serbia) will not be able to resist the temptation to divide up what remains of Bosnia. The Croatians under no circumstances want to see a Moslem state. In this war they may have made short-term use of the Bosnians to hold some ground, but in the long term, and despite the military cooperation agreement signed in July in Split, they'll do everthing possible to weaken the Bosnians by

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preventing them from receiving shipments of heavy or sophisticated weapons."

Western diplomants have also found Bosnian authorities deeply worried about Tudjman's real intentions. "Zagreb is going to annex Croat land in southern Bosnia and does not want to see Sarajevo liberated," said Gen. Divjak.

Military and political authorities alike, not to mention senior diplomats, UN officials and representatives of humanitarian organizations, fear that the possible arrival of as many as 200,000 Croatian Serb refugees will upset the delicate demographic balance among the Bosnian communities.

In addition, the entry into Bosnia of thousands of Croatian Serb fighters and, according to unconfirmed reports, the introduction of Serb heavy weapons will seriously change the balance of power, according to Western and UN analysts here.

Gen. Divjak said it would take two weeks to integrate Serb units from Krajina into the Bosnian Serb Army. But he added: "I don't think these 10,000 to 20,000 soldiers will continue to fight for land that is not theirs."

Military experts here predict the next major battles will be for Sarajevo and the Posavina corridor, which links Bosnian Serbs in the east with their brethren in the west.

The inability of the Bosnian Government to take aadvantage of the Croatian offensive to open a front to end the siege of Sarajevo highlighted the weakness of the government army, the specialists said. The failure was particularly apparent given the low level of recent military activity by the Bosnian Serbs.

Analysts here attribute the indecisiveness evident in both Bosnian camps to internal frictions, notably Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic's announced intention to resign and the test of wills now under way between Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and his fiesty [word as received] army commander, General Ratko Mladic.

With parliamentary backing, Karadzic is seeking to take supreme command of the Serb Army, shunting Mladic aside into the newly created position of special military adviser. But Mladic, supported by his General Staff, is resisting and is seen as standing a good chance of emerging the victor.

Army Press Center Reports Velika Kladusa Victory

AU0708185495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] With exceptionally well planned and resolutely carried out combat operations, the units of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army today liberated Velika Kladusa and the entire temporarily occupied territory up to the state border between the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia. Through this action the quisling formation of Fikret Abdic, the greatest traitor of the Bosniak people, was definitely defeated, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center says in its report.

In these battles, huge losses in manpower were inflicted on the joint Chetnik forces. [words indistinct] huge quantities of military hardware, weaponry, and other equipment have been confiscated. Although data are still being sorted out, it is known so far that the confiscated weaponry is equivalent to an artillery regiment as, among other things, it includes five 105-mm howitzers, three 122-mm howitzers, three 130-mm guns, two self-propelled artillery pieces with 90-mm guns, a dozen Zis antitank guns and [word indistinct], a T-55 tank, and a large quantity of ammunition and artillery shells, it is said in the report by the Army Press Center.

Presidency Appeals to Bosniaks

AU0708164795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received the following piece of news by telefax:

Due to a grave situation, the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has sent a proclamation to a part of the people of the Bosnian Krajina who are under the control of Fikret Abdic's paramilitary formations. The proclamation reads as follows:

In this critical historical moment, when Serb fascism is being crushed and when the victorious 5th Corps is liberating Krajina, the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is calling on you to side with freedom, justice, and the entire Bosniak people. We assure you that you have no reason to leave your homes of many centuries. We guarantee full freedom, human dignity, and protection of life and property to every citizen.

Already last year, the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina proclaimed amnesty for everybody who had been misled and manipulated. This decision is still in force. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is a people's army. It has never fought against its own people nor will it ever do so. It is fighting for the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for the salvation of Bosniaks, against the fascist evildoer, and for the liberation of our entire homeland.

Do not abandon your homes. As for you who had been taken in by false promises and left for foreign lands, you should freely return to your homes. This

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is said in the proclamation that the Presidency if the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has issued due to the grave situation and that was signed by President Alija Izetbegovic.

Presidency Promotes Dudakovic

AU0708191695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At its extraordinary session today chaired by President Alija Izetbegovic, the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina discussed the latest military situation in Una-Sana Canton. The Presidency was informed about the latest successes of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council of the Bihac Region in crushing the enemy offensive and carrying out a successful counterattack through which Fikret Abdic's paramilitary formations have been completely crushed.

The Presidency congratulates the people of this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina and all fighters of the 5th Corps for their extraordinary successes.

For exceptional merit in liberating this part of our country under very difficult circumstances, for personal courage demonstrated, and exceptional success in commanding the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the Presidency decided to promote Brigadier General Atif Dudakovic to the rank of division general [divizijski general].

The Presidency also discussed the very grave situation that came about with the uncontrolled arrival of refugees from Croatia into Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as with a number of enemy soldiers crossing over to our territory. The Presidency authorized Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic to lodge a harsh protest to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] for Bosnia-Herzegovina, UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, and the Security Council, and, in direct contacts with corresponding factors of the Republic of Croatia and international community, to establish measures that can be taken with a view to protecting the interests of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

5th Corps Reports Counterattacks

AU0808084995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 8 Aug 95

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The first morning in the liberated Velika Kladusa is quiet, following yesterday's entrance into the town by the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps. Everything is being done now to introduce legal authorities as soon as possible. A police station, medical center, and other essential institutions will be opened today, so that normal life can resume in the Velika Kladusa municipality.

The brave fighters of Division General Atif Dudakovic have taken full control of the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina border. Some of the former Kladusa paramilitary formations have surrendered to the 5th Corps fighters, while the most extreme elements have transferred to the area of the former Serb Krajina, suffering an identical fate to that of Martic's Chetniks. [passage omitted]

However, since last night Karadzic's Chetniks have been carrying out fierce artillery-infantry attacks on the 5th Corps defense lines along the entire front line on Mt. Grmec, Turski Kozjen, Hrdar, and the wider region of Ripac. The fighters of our army are responding in kind, so the enemy is not managing to break through our defenses.

Serbs Refuse To Implement Natural Gas Protocol

AU0708165795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Even the last attempt to restore the city's natural gas system and the supply of Sarajevo with indispensable natural gas has ended in failure. Yesterday, the aggressor's side unequivocally refused to fulfill the obligations it took upon itself by signing the 31 July protocol with the office of Mr. Eagleton, special UN coordinator for Sarajevo.

Minister: Stop All Deliveries

AU0708203195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On the occasion of the critical energy situation in Sarajevo and the possibility of resuming the city supplies of natural gas and electricity, Minister Hasan Muratovic, chairman of the State Commission for Cooperation With the United Nations, has given the following statement for BH PRESS:

According to the agreement that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] has signed with the Serb aggressor side, to which we also agreed, as well as worked on it together with UNPROFOR, gas should have first been supplied [words indistinct]. However, when time came for natural gas to be supplied to Sarajevo two days ago, we began letting the gas go to [name indistinct], and the Serb aggressors' side said that it has no approval from Pale to do what had been agreed. We then stopped delivery of gas and are currently taking all actions with a view to having our demand to the Sanctions Committee in New York be respected, that is, that gas delivery on the Hungarian border be stopped.

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We cannot allow Serbia to use the gas intended for Bosnia-Herzegovina. In that respect, we can only agree with the Serbs from Serbia and from Bosnia-Herzegovina, to an equal use of gas in the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as that we shall no longer agree to natural gas coming from Hungary into Serbia, Muratovic pointed out.

Negotiations on the supplies of Sarajevo with electricity are also under way, but according to Muratovic, without specific results.

Karadzic Comments on Current Situation

AU0508204295 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 4 Aug 95

[Interview with Serb Republic leader Radovan Karadzic by Dragan Bozanic; place not given—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Bozanic] Mr. President, we have just heard an important announcement. [on changes to the chain of command in the Bosnian and Krajina Serb military leaderships]. Could you please comment on that?

[Karadzic] You see, this is a crucial moment. Nothing will ever be the same after this. The Serbs will either survive or they will cease to exist, it is as simple as that. It is imperative that we concentrate and accelerate the process of making and implementing decisions. They must be carefully planned, rational, viable, and we cannot afford to make any more mistakes. We cannot afford to lose a single municipality. We lost Kupres, Glamoc, and Grahovo for various reasons. That is about 4 or 5 percent of the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and even more of our territory. At any rate, we can no longer disregard demands for an energetic and unified command, as planned in the Constitution and our law. In keeping with the Constitution and the law, the supreme commander must be in charge and cannot be exempt from the responsibility, and we must organize the chain of command so that the Army is commanded in a realistic and rational manner. On the other hand, everywhere in the world when a war breaks out, general staffs are turned into supreme command headquarters and the supreme command leads the war. This is one of the things we had to do.

The other thing we must do is provide a unified defense of the Serb Republic [RS] and the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]. We have big problems, even in places where two brigades overlap. One brigade commander blames it on the commander of the other brigade and we have problems with jurisdiction. We also have problems when we have two overlapping corps. Not to mention when two armies overlap, the RSK Army and the RS Army. The fall of western Slavonia has made it clear that we must never again allow that. We must not allow that we [word indistinct] like neighbors. We must know what each of us is doing every minute and we must coordinate our action. I therefore decided to appoint General Mladic to the Supreme Command. His cabinet will now be in the Supreme Command and he will be in charge of coordinating every action. He will suggest what we should do and propose adequate solutions. As he is very well known in Knin and the Croats know him well too, we believe his decisions will be in keeping with the needs in defending the RSK. The RSK is making heroic efforts to defend itself. No Serb can say that he does not want to help. That means that all Serbs from the RS must help and, by God, I will also talk about what is going on in Yugoslavia later on and what Yugoslavia is obliged to do.

[Bozanic] Mr. President, does that present the most direct response to what the Muslims and the Croats did by signing an agreement in Split on direct military coordination?

[Karadzic] Yes, that is correct. They changed several commanders, they changed their formations, they formed divisions. All those changes were made, and even Tudjman made them, in order to come up with an efficient command and to create a unified command of the Croatian Army, the Croatian Defense Council, and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As you know, we can cope with the Muslims and the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina quite well, although there are 65 percent of them and only 35 percent of us. We have better officers. Our corps commanders are brilliant, and I am afraid that we have not praised them enough, for many of them planned and led many operations. We have excellent brigade commanders, division commanders, etc. This is our great advantage over our enemy. At this moment, we have just a little more military hardware then they do.

However, this balance has been disturbed by Croatia. We have established a kind of strategic balance, and we can defend our country from the Bosnian Croats and the Muslims. However, now Croatia has gotten involved and now our enemy has the advantage. We must now take measures, both with regard to Army structure and organization, and in keeping with the constitution, I am obliged to adapt the Army organization and structure to every new situation, and to changes in strategy. What kind of transformation must be done, fast and efficient, in order to defeat this new enemy? This is our response to the challenge. It would be quite irresponsible of us to use old recipes in this newly created situation. That would not be good, and we saw that in World War II. Churchill was very wise to have seen that

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different circumstances required new commanders, etc. He won the war, of course. We must win this war. There is absolutely no chance for survival if we do not triumphantly win the war. We must do everything to do that.

[Bozanic] Mr. President, we have been watching reports from foreign agencies, etc. via satellite all day long. Foreign correspondents, even foreign military and political analysts. They attempted to deny a possibility of direct military cooperation between the RSK and the RS. They even said that, if the RS should cooperate directly, that would present an aggression against a foreign country.

[Karadzic] We will not demand an inch of Croatian territory. We will not get involved in the war if there is no war. If the RSK wanted to seize Zagreb, for instance, we would resist that and make that clear in our political talks, in our brotherly contacts, for we do not negotiate, but have contacts as we are brothers. We demanded that they protect their territory. But if Croatia attacks them, it attacks us, it attacks Yugoslavia. All our patriotic parties in Yugoslavia, in the RSK, and in the RS made that a part of their programs long ago: If a nation hurts at one end, the entire nation feels the pain. Perhaps international analysts spotted our weakness in coordination so far. We lost western Slavonia. That is a big scar for all of us. We should not have allowed that. We had to have units on hold, and I ordered that they be established as early as August, 1993. If those units were ready, we could have appeared there in two, three hours and prevented that. The fall of Kupres, and now even of Grahovo and Glamoc, is definitely not a mistake of Gen. Milovanovic, who had a very hard time fighting there against an absolutely supreme enemy, nor of young Gen. Tomanic, commander of the 2d Krajina Corps. That is our mistake. We from the General Staff, from the Supreme Command must take the blame. Why have we not decided to send at least half the units we are sending now, to send there in time? We could have prevented the fall of two large municipalities. Foreign analysts are the enemy, they spotted our weakness, that we are cumbersome, that we cannot move fast, that our enemy is not the same as in 1992. Also, Croatia is no longer what it used to be in 1992. And that is why the prognosis is what it is, we know what it is. And, because it says that we will not be able to help the RSK or some of our parts, we must completely change the system of command and create some ad hoc units that can change the situation on the ground, that can get from one part of the country to the other very fast. Tactically speaking, what we now need is a fast maneuver and the maneuver must be provided.

[Bozanic] [passage omitted] Mr. President, a viewer from Gradiska congratulates Gen. Ratko Mladic on his new appointment and appeals to both of you, on behalf of all the Serbs, to lead us as before with the full support of the people from Krajina.

[Karadzic] Thank you. That is our duty and obligation. If we do not do that, we will be held responsible by those generations and in the court of history. We must not make any more mistakes. From now on there cannot be any mistakes, not minor, not major ones, for the whole world is against the Serbs and we must endure long enough for the world to ask itself why is it so, and we defend ourselves.

[Bozanic] Mr. President, we will talk about details later on. Perhaps it is now most important to get first-hand information from the supreme commander about the latest fighting reports and what is now happening on the battlefield. Is it really as the Muslims and the Croats boast? Mr. Granic said they would overcome the RSK, the defense of the RSK in seven days, but some of our colleagues mentioned four days, while they actually said it would happen even before, that they will defeat us in their offensive on Sarajevo. Evidently we had some problems: Grahovo, Glamoc.

[Karadzic] You see, we knew, we were aware of military buildup near Livno. We even knew, both military intelligence and state security gave us absolutely correct data in time. Perhaps we took a little too long in Zepa. Perhaps we should have used one-fifth of the forces there and sent all other forces to other places. I think we could have prevented the fall of Grahovo and Glamoc. I must say we cannot blame Commander Tomanic nor Milovanovic, who are our great heroes, especially Milovanovic in the 2d Krajina Corps, who launched counteroffensives. We must not just praise ourselves, but also commend our subordinate officers who achieved brilliant results. However, I cannot say that the Grahovo Brigade, nor the Glamoc Brigade are responsible either. Another brigade is responsible, and I will not say which one nor name its commander. That brigade was a weak link and yielded in the wrong place, allowing the Glamoc Brigade to become semi-surrounded and have to pull out. Otherwise, as far as the Glamoc Brigade theater of operations is concerned, it could resist and it did resist tremendous push of the Croatian Army.

Regarding the RSK, it did quite well in the first day of the war. The first two or three days are critical. The RSK Army did quite well. There were over 200 dead Croatian soldiers. There were considerably fewer friendly casualties, though a number of our soldiers were wounded. However, I think the Croats, in a swampy area north of Dubica, which we knew would be hard to defend, first of all they had a stronghold there, secondly, it is a swampy area with swampy vegetation and it is

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not accessible to heavy weapons. The RSK Army made a tactical withdrawal toward Dubica. I think that the civilians have already taken shelter for security reasons.

On all other fronts, the bravery of the RSK Army soldiers is unparalleled. Indeed, they destroyed at least three tanks, and, as far as we know, they shot down one jet and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. I think the first day is crucial for them. My message to them is that the soldier who has good officers, good superiors, will not get killed, he will wait in the trench, let the artillery pound. Croatian foot soldier will eventually appear, and that will be the end of him. The Croats are very sensitive to heavy losses. When they sustain heavy losses, they will finally reconsider. Europe and the world will increase the pressure. I think the first day is very important. I am very happy that they chose that to be the first day. [sentence as heard] This is a baptism of fire: shells are raining down, detonations rock the ground. I was there a couple of times, and it is really strange for the first day, but calm officers and commanders can keep soldiers alive in the trenches and wait for the infantry and then attack.

I think Yugoslavia will eventually do something. I do not exactly know what, but I think it will have to do something and that this issue will probably be raised later on, and I will speak my mind about it then.

[Bozanic] Mr. President, what will you do. Posavina, some of our towns up there, Gradiska, Dubica, were directly, fiercely, and brutally bombarded and shelled today from across the Sava River. What will be the response of the RS; how will you react?

[Karadzic] Many of our towns are shelled constantly. Many of them in the bordering area, starting from Kupres, i.e. the Serb part of Kupres, Srbobran [Donji Vakuf]. Shells are not raining down on Jajce so far, but it is still within their range. Then we have Teslic, Doboj, Serb Maglaj, Serb Zavidovici, i.e. Vozuca, all municipalities, Petrovo, Lukavac, Serb municipalities on Ozren, Doboj again from the eastern side, all the way to Modrica, sometimes. They sometimes also target Samac. Brcko has been particularly harshly hit. You know that shells are sometimes falling on Zvornik, not to mention that they can target Sekovici, even Vlasenica. Needless to say, Sarajevo municipalities are being shelled every day. I think both the people and soldiers of RSK must be told about the example of Sarajevo, where the people live with shelling and will not give in.

[Bozanic] Ilijas, for instance. More than 10,000 shells landed there in the past couple of days and they did not budge an inch.

[Karadzic] Ten thousand shells. There are far fewer casualties from the shelling. The first shell can kill, but then people go to the shelters. However, the fact remains that the people are determined to stay put and nothing will move them. Of course, we also have an army that is doing an extremely good job in breaking off the great Muslim offensive. Ilidza was shelled, Hadzici were shelled. I do not like that term "shelled," I would prefer to say bombed. Furthermore, Grbavica, Dobrinja, Vojkovici....

[Bozanic] Mr. President, somehow I prefer to differentiate between the two armies, the Croat and the Muslim armies. And let me again ask you, we forgot that Popovo Polje and Trebinje, the suburbs of Trebinje, were shelled. Bombarded, that is a better term, for when buildings collapse under heavy artillery fire, the effect is the same as when bombs are dropped from airplanes. Popovo Polje, Trebinje, and the Posavina corridor up there. The Croats are very dangerous. Their bombardment is bestial, they destroy civilian targets. We got used to fighting against the Muslims in the past three years.

[Karadzic] Oh, the Croats are less dangerous, because they want to fight from a distance, they use artillery because they do not dare to come any closer. I think the Muslims are braver, for they carry out infantry attacks. Of course, that is why they have more casualties. The Croats are petrified of heavy casualties. And that is their big problem. What I wanted to say is that, although we have been enduring the bombardment for such a long time, we will warn the international public that Serb towns, civilian target are being hit and that we will retaliate in keeping with the international military law. Of course, we will do our best to aim at military targets and economic targets important for military industry, but we cannot be certain that some shells will not miss their target. We will not shell civilian targets on purpose. They, too, are probably saying that they shell military targets. Children are not military targets!

[Bozanic] We saw how they aimed at military targets in the center of Knin; they hit houses.

[Karadzic] That is correct. Consequently, we will first warn them and then retaliate. Retaliate in places where it will hurt most, in places where we are likely to make infantry breakthroughs, in Zadar and other towns, for we must defend ourselves. We will undoubtedly use all the means on our disposal, and we have quite a lot.

[Bozanic] Mr. President, we did not air those reports, but they showed the empty streets of Split, Sibenik, Dubrovnik, Zadar, Zagreb, empty parts of those towns, etc. They were doing their best to say that the Serbs want to shell those civilian targets, to bombard those

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targets, and to say that another genocide, as they say, is in the offing.

[Karadzic] That is not true. We are not shelling Dubrovnik, although they are shelling Drvar. Even when we shoot at their military and economic targets, and we will have to target all their towns more often, their military targets and industry, they are informed ahead of time to tell their people to keep off the streets. Our revenge will not be exaggerate; it will be proportionate, in keeping with the international law, but we must retaliate. The international community cannot think less of towns like Drvar, Doboj, Brcko, than Cavtat, Sibenik, or Zadar.

[Karadzic] How long is the period, Mr. President, how long will the armies of the two western states, or our unified Serb Army, allow them to bombard civilian targets, to kill our civilians, until they fight back? Is today, the day of the great aggression, enough for us, in case this bestial destruction of everything continues, will the Serb Army respond in a dignified manner in the way it is able to do? [sentence as heard] Foreign military analysts say the Serbs can do that, because they have the means, the missiles to do that.

[Karadzic] We will definitely fight back. Today is the turning point of this war. Croatia has made a radical move to destroy the RSK; first to destroy its nation, expel the rest of the destroyed nation, and then to continue the aggression against the RS. I must tell our nation in the two republics and the people in Yugoslavia: the West is creating greater Croatia before their very eyes. The West did not relinquish any of their radical goals, i.e. did not relinquish Croatia stretching as far as the Drina River; did not relinquish crushing Serbia in Sandzak, Kosovo, and Vojvodina; did not relinquish containing Serbia to the city of Belgrade and then setting humiliating terms, economic and political cooperation with such a small Serbia. [sentence as heard] Serbia, i.e. Yugoslavia, is already besieged by Croatia; of course, Muslim Bosnia; Albania in which the Americans are stationed already; Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], where we also have the Americans; Bulgaria, which is inclined toward NATO. We cannot understand that people in Yugoslavia do not see that this is a turning point and that they do not realize that Petrinja and Knin must not fall, for if they fall, Belgrade will fall too. This is simple logic. They have no shame, no fear and they will realize their radical goals without remorse. They want the Balkans free of the Serbs or to contain them to the city of Belgrade. Every reasonable man, every farmer understands that. Great Britain defends the Falkland Islands that are 12,000 miles far from their territory. If you do not defend a small finger, you do not defend the head either. We must defend everything. And if anybody in Yugoslavia hopes that they will be left alone once they are over with us, they are wrong. That will not happen. Nobody will protect Serbia except all of us Serbs. Russia will not enter a war to protect Serbia. Only Serbia, which can defend itself, which can defend Knin and Petrinja together with us, can guarantee survival. That happens in the animal world as well, survival of the fittest. The same goes for people, especially in times when new world orders are being created. Serbia must realize that it is being threatened, that this is a knife in its heart. [passage omitted] If the borders were open today, many Montenegrins would come back to regain Konavle and the shameful experience when they were retreating from Konavle when they did not make sure that they at least get running water. Now we must give them electric power. We will shut off Dubrovnik's electric power and (?Plat's) water supply until they let Herceg Novi, i.e. Montenegro, have running water. We are asked to promise not to shell the vicinity of Dubrovnik, and then they will turn on water supplies for Herceg Novi.

[Bozanic] Is it 30 percent of electric power that is produced by Croatia?

[Karadzic] We produce 78 percent, they produce 22 percent, but that is besides the point. We will turn off Plat's water supply at our expense until they give running water to Herceg Novi. But to sign that we will not fight against Croatia or that part of Croatia while Croatia is attacking our territories, that is out of the question! [passage omitted]

We know what ordinary people in Serbia think. They are prepared to fight, they are prepared for unification. I guarantee that unification between the RS, the RSK, and Yugoslavia is by far the best move we can make. The best move. And nobody can punish us for that, or have the means to punish us, for that would result in World War III. If we do not do it today, we will be sorry for centuries. I think that lack of contact with Mr. Milosevic is a very bad thing. Frankly, people ask me every day why President Milosevic relinquished the national goals. He lead us into a fight to regain Serb dignity. He was the leader of all Serbs. He said that we must resist the breaking of Yugoslavia, etc. Indeed, he never advised us to go to war. We were forced to go to war. However, he must become the leader of the Serb nation again, and Serbia must again fight a liberation war for its own sake and for the sake of the RSK and the RS. If it does not do that, you will see another tragedy. Montenegro will be separated from Serbia, Sandzak will get unbearable degree of autonomy, not to mention Kosovo, and to Vojvodina as well. You will see that they will then start finding culprits, justifications, saying this man made a

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mistake, this one did not. Gen. Novakovic was replaced, Celeketic was replaced. That is all in vain. We do not have the right to justify ourselves. I do not have the right to justify myself in any way. I must work like a man, a statesman. I must do everything I see fit to make this country work, even to punish and replace myself if that is what must be done. No man is so saint as to be more important than the Serb nation and their lands. And therefore Serbia and Yugoslavia must follow the feelings of the ordinary people and the people feel for us. [passage omitted]

I think it is very dangerous to hide something from the people, not to tell them the truth, not to let them form their opinion about it. That is a good chance for leaders to lead the country under false pretenses. The people will always give you a signal: do not do it this way, do it that way. If you are not getting the signal, and it is not there if people are not told the truth, you must tell the people that it is dangerous if it really is; if you must take sharp steps, measures, you must let the people know that determined measures will get us out of trouble. They must be taken in keeping with the law, but the people will at least know why you are doing it. But if you do not explain.... How will Serbia, for instance, get involved in the war, if not for the sake of Krajina, though it is obliged to do so by the Vance Plan? How will it start a war for Kosovo? The local media show a diluted national spirit. The spirit of resistance, defense, rebellion is destroyed and everyone will say my municipality will not go away with Kosovo.... That is a disaster! The nation must be unanimous regarding certain issues, defense, survival. I therefore think that it would be good if television centers reached an agreement. It would be terrible, the world would never forgive us this lack of coordination between us and the leaders of Yugoslavia and Serbia. The Serbs would not forgive us, history would not forgive that. No reason is valid enough for us to break off contacts. I met with President Milosevic once this year and that is no secret. You know, our friends from a large country told me: "People at the German Embassy are really upset. They asked us: How come Milosevic and Karadzic met? That was not planned. They could become reconciled, find a solution, and that was not planned. Please see to it that this never happens again, that they never meet again, and that their relations remain strained."

On the other hand, when international mediators get some promises in Belgrade, they cannot come to Pale. That would be selling it for half price. We give everything at half price instead of forcing them to come both to Belgrade and to Pale. We tell everybody; we told Carter: "Please go to Belgrade as well. It will be useful for Serbia and for the Serb nation." It would be of paramount importance if Serbia said: "I can do this much and that will cost you this much. Regarding the rest, go to Pale and you will have to pay a price for that, but go to Pale." In this way, the West tells President Milosevic that he is their only hope, etc. Why is President Milosevic the only hope? The only hope for the West to realize their interests. That should stop right away. President Milosevic must become the hope for the Serbs, not the hope of the West. That would enable us to set a much higher price. We would get more for the safety of our nation. Unfortunately, I fear that if we and the Republic of Serb Krajina do not preserve the Serb state, the western part of the Serb state, I fear that, little by little, the time will come when it will be too late for Serbia to rise to its defense. Now it is too late. We had to finish with Croatia in 1991. Perhaps this is where Babic was right, although we were told in Serbia that the situation would freeze, that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] must not be attacked. Indeed, that sounded good at the time, for Serbia was shaken by Vuk Draskovic and other peacemakers who were against mobilization. I must admit that, after 52 hours, we, too, became convinced that the Vance Plan could be good. However, that was a trick. They changed the mandate and said it was no longer the Vance Plan, but something else. I saw that during the war between Israel and Egypt. The United Nations withdrew in 24 hours, when Israel told them to withdraw. Israel inflicted a crushing defeat on Egypt. And once the job is done, there is no point in putting the blame on somebody. There is no point in trying to find who is to blame for the fall of western Slavonia. We are all to blame!

[Bozanic] Mr. President, please interpret the clauses, the details of the Vance Plan in public. Yugoslavia's representatives signed the plan. Is it obliged to protect the Serbs in the Republic of Serb Krajina?

[Karadzic] Yes, Yugoslavia guarantees that agreement.

[Bozanic] We saw how Turkey guaranteed the rights of the Turkish minority in Cyprus. They came there with its army and has been safeguarding the Turkish national minority, which was largely outnumbered by the Cypriots, for more than 20 years.

[Karadzic] Of course, all decent nations do that. The Vance Plan could not be changed without the approval of both sides and must remain in force until a political solution is found. Whatever it may be. Even if it takes 20 years. It took 20, 30 years in Cyprus. Even if we have a green line. Neither side dares to begin a war. Consequently, the Vance Plan was supposed to be in effect here for 20 years, until a solution is found or a new association is created, but the Republic of Serb

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Krajina and Croatia will be equal, even in some kind of Yugoslavia, if anybody cares about it. But they must know that the Republic of Serb Krajina will be treated the same in that union as Croatia, and that the Serb Republic will be on an equal footing with the Muslim-Croat federation.

Moral obligations and dignity aside, calculations show that Yugoslavia must not allow the destruction of the Republic of Serb Krajina. It must not allow it! Serbia and Yugoslavia are surrounded by enemies, except for Romania and our border along the Drina River. The only two safe borders are ours, as long as we hold the Drina River, and Romanian. We do not know what the Hungarians will do, what the Bulgarians will do. We hope the Bulgarians will not be our enemy again.

[Bozanic] And the Albanians in particular.

[Karadzic] The Albanians are a case in point. We know about the Albanians, we know about the Muslims and the Croats. We know they are sworn enemies of any kind of Serbia. [passage omitted]

When they were trying to persuade us to accept the Vance Plan, we were told that nobody can attack the United Nations, their protected zone, for that would mean war against the United Nations. And that theory holds, legally speaking. But there is no more law, there is nothing. Badinter's commission showed that there the international law does not exist, that everything is subjected to politics, interests, that everything is ruthlessness, and we do not have a right to be naive. We do not have a right to think that Croatia will be satisfied with just a little part of Krajina. Croatia is making radical moves. Let us not delude ourselves, the Vatican, Croatia, and Germany want to get to the Drina River. The Drina is their goal. They have never signed anything nor said anything to prove otherwise. Greater Croatia is being created before the eyes of Yugoslavia. If greater Croatia is created, there will be no Yugoslavia. We must be aware of that. The existence of greater Croatia means the disappearance of Yugoslavia.

[Bozanic] How come Croatia did not attack the territory of eastern Slavonia today, i.e. does that mean the Croats were not strong enough?

[Karadzic] The rumor has it that President Milosevic sold the western part of the Republic of Serb Krajina in exchange for the eastern part of the Republic of Serb Krajina. President Milosevic would never do that. Even if he had done that, he would never have done that without consulting the people from the Republic of Serb Krajina. He would have told them: "Let's make a deal, move the population, to get more in eastern Slavonia." He would never let people be killed. In my opinion, such deals are not possible, for I know we were never offered to make any such deals, nor would we ever accept them. If we were to consider such a deal, we would discuss it at the Assembly, we would organize a referendum and the people would vote. The Croats are now playing a very cunning game. They are attacking the western part, while barely touching the eastern part, as if they know that some day it will belong to Serbia. That part will never belong to Serbia if we do not win. Tudjman will not give anything. Our information is that the last term, as far as the Croat side is concerned, for the lifting of sanctions is to give Baranja back to Croatia. The international community will set their own special terms for Kosovo, Vojvodina, and Sandzak. Consequently, today when we can resist the enemy, when we are stronger as a whole, if we do not start defending all the Serbs, it will be too late tomorrow. Not a single peace of Serb land west of the Drina will be saved and then it will be Yugoslavia's turn.

I would like for people not to fall for those speculations. I do not believe that such a deal exists and I know for sure that annexation is the worst of all sins in the eyes of the international law. If Croatia were to allow Serbia to annex eastern Slavonia by force or other means, a chain of annexations would follow throughout Europe and that would be the end to peace in Europe. Consequently, only the entire Republic of Serb Krajina can get out of the claws of Croatia, not just parts of it. [passage omitted]

[Bozanic] Will mobilization of people from the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina in Yugoslavia continue?

[Karadzic] I do not know about that, but I know for sure that mobilization of the Croats and the Muslims in Germany will continue. If Germany can mobilize the Croats and the Muslims, then Yugoslavia should be able to carry out mobilization too, for we have recently received official interpretation from Yugoslavia that we are still one country and that those people are not foreigners in Yugoslavia. They are obliged to return. I must say that those who came back are different people now, they have a high self-esteem, none of them want to leave their country any more. The police returned some 15 men who left the country, but the rest have changed completely. They know that not every bullet kills. They stayed alive, they repulsed attacks, they fought, they lost some weight, they are now active like wolves, and their faces reflect high self-esteem now. They say: "I would not miss this for the world." I am convinced that every draft dodger, I do not want to call them deserters, will feel the need to come back. We appeal to people from Serbia and

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Montenegro to come here as volunteers, and we will stage a fine welcome for our men. Nobody will mistreat them, we welcomed them with open arms. Nobody even jokes about them, especially now that they are fighting like heroes. They should return immediately. Serbia is defended here. There is no more fleeing. If you leave your own village, you abandon all Serb lands. They should come back to see what it feels like to defend one's own country. Not every bullet kills, not every soldier dies. Our losses, especially during offensives, are minimal. Men are merely scratched by bullets.

[Bozanic] Our viewer from Jajce asks whether Yugoslavia has already sent help to the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina, for volunteers from Serbia are reportedly arriving to help soldiers in the two western Serb countries. Do you have any news about that?

[Karadzic] I know that there are many volunteers in Serbia and Montenegro. Many volunteers. They are fine patriots, true heroes. I do not know whether any of them crossed the border yet. You know that we have always had volunteers from Serbia here. They are part of our Army. They are not paramilitary units, they are volunteers and share the faith of our soldiers. We even have volunteers from other Orthodox countries. I will not say from which countries and how many of them are here, but we do have volunteers here. [passage omitted]

[Bozanic] Is this the final showdown with the Croats?

[Karadzic] I am convinced that we must reach the final victory, for Croatia started the final showdown. And that is why we concentrated the command and leadership. Anyway, the law obliges us to do that, but I left quite a few things to commands and commanders. However, now I am absolutely responsible for everything and I will be rigorous in preparing my decisions with the help of the Supreme Command and Gen. Mladic and others. Those decisions will then have to be realized in a flash, for this is a very radical goal of both the Muslims and the Croats, there is no doubt about that. This is a radical move on their part and we do not have a right to act as we did before.

I must say that we were not wrong in not introducing the state of war before. Everybody says that we were wrong about that, but we were not. The people would be too exhausted. There was no finale. The international community was not interested in a finale either. Life withers in the state of war. A curfew is imposed, people cannot buy alcohol, there are no parties, dances, there are no glamorous sports, etc. The entire nation becomes militarized in a way. We would not smile, our soldiers would not smile, if we were militarized for three and a half years. Our morale would be low, for frontline soldiers are fighting like lions, like wolves, but want to enjoy life when they come home. However, we had to introduce the state of war for the first time throughout the country. We had to change the formation of the Army. We had to turn the General Staff into the Supreme Command Headquarters, take the command into our hands, for I am now responsible. I will answer both to the Assembly and to the people and there is no way I can apologize or justify another fall like Grahovo and Glamoc. I will have to say: "I gave you an order and you did not execute it. You must carry out orders." The fall of three municipalities, Kupres, Glamoc, and Grahovo, is a big tragedy and we must change something. We replaced the commander of the 2d Krajina Corps after the fall of Kupres. [passage omitted]

[Bozanic] What is the strategic goal of the Croat forces at Kozarska Dubica or some other western parts of the Serb Republic?

[Karadzic] Croatia's first and main goal is to get to its borders.

[Bozanic] As defined by the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ].

[Karadzic] Yes, those recognized by the international community. The Muslims had the same strategic goal, you know. They obviously had the same adviser. The Muslims launched a great offensive on Sarajevo which fell through and then they attempted to go via Treskavica to link up with Gorazde, Zepa, and Srebrenica. They attacked us at Vis from the direction of Kalesija. That was their attempt to get to the Drina River and to the eastern border. You see, the Muslims today do not control the borders of the country they consider theirs. They simply do not control them. The Croats control a small section of the borders, but the rest is in our hands. How can Bosnia belong to the Muslims when we control the borders and 70 percent of the territory? Croatia has the same adviser. That is why they cut into Mt. Dinara in an attempt to link up with the Bihac pocket and then they cut off Knin. God forbid, but that will not happen. That is their radical goal, to get to the AVNOJ borders, and to say: "Knin is our internal problem. The Serbs are our Kurds. We will handle them like Turkey handles the Kurds, hunt them down and kill them." Neither Yugoslavia nor the Serb Republic can and must not allow that. Russia should not allow that either. The attack from above, from the Sava, is designed to reach the AVNOJ border of Croatia, i.e. the border between us and the Republic of Serb Krajina, to separate us, and turn that part into an internal problem. We must not allow that! Banija must not be separated from us. We must defend that.

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Once Croatia realizes that goal, it will wage a war against the Serb Republic in order to help the Muslims seize all of Bosnia. Those who do not realize that lack foresight. Furthermore, those who do not see that, once they complete that part of the job, they would attempt to separate Montenegro, not its present leaders, they probably would not want that, but they will find others. The story is that we could replace the leadership in a nondemocratic manner to deceive the people. And then they would go to Sandzak, Kosovo, and Vojvodina. Those who do not see that, they are deceiving the people, leading it the wrong way. [passage omitted]

My promise to all people from Grahovo and Glamoc is that we will not accept the results of aggression. We do not accept the results of the aggression against western Slavonia. We have some messengers that occasionally tell us what Croatian leaders say. We said: "Croatia will not exist as a state if it expels the Serbs from western Slavonia. We will regain western Slavonia, even if it takes us a hundred years." Croatia must be aware of the fact that if the rights of the Serbs are violated or denied, our generations will do their best to make Croatia pay for that and many Serb politicians will say that Carthage must be destroyed, i.e. Croatia must be destroyed if Croatia is created on Serb ethnic territory! Our loss of western Slavonia is only temporary. The Serbs must know that it is our territory and that, if we do not make a deal acceptable to the people, we will sooner or later, and this is not the last war, have to regain western Slavonia and punish Croatia, if it is still our enemy. Carthage must be destroyed if it is still our enemy. That is the only logical thing to do when dealing with our mortal enemy. [passage omitted]

Could I make an appeal to our Serb brothers in Yugoslavia?

[Bozanic] Of course.

[Karadzic] They do not have to fight here, they could work in our factories. We do not have workers. All our workers are on the front lines. We can produce a lot for the Army, for the people, for domestic needs as well as for export. Unemployed people of Serbia, pensioners, experts, engineers, craftsmen, apply! Our government knows exactly what we need and they will be sent there, work there for the people. They do not have to go to the front lines. Their work will count as if they fought on the front lines.

[Bozanic] Vojka of Zvornik congratulates Gen. Ratko Mladic for his new function and asks President Karadzic whether he will now use all available means to show what the Serbs are like and what kind of army they have.

[Karadzic] Of course we will use all means at our disposal, even some that we have not used so far. We will simply use all means to defend our people, but we will try not to do what our enemy wants us to do. Our enemy wants us to shell the tourist part of Dubrovnik. We will not do that. We will hit them where it hurts most, i.e. we will hit their military and industrial centers.

[Bozanic] Our viewers are more direct and ask why we do not use all weapons at our disposal to fight our enemy?

[Karadzic] We could not use our Air Force so far. I think all resolutions are a thing of the past now. We must simply not allow any resolution passed by our enemy to be enforced. The UN Security Council and those who govern it have proven that they are our enemy.

You asked about Muslim soldiers in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is not acting like our silent ally. It receives soldiers who fought against us. Half of them are war criminals who massacred our people and Yugoslavia is receiving them as if they were its own. I wonder how would Austria receive us, how would Austria receive our Army. Or Hungary. They would immediately extradite us to Croatia or to the Muslim state. Yugoslavia must be our ally at least to the extent that it extradite those...

[Bozanic, interrupting] Mr. President, can Yugoslavia do that if they are protected by the ICRC in a way?

[Karadzic] They could be protected by the ICRC here as well, that would be no problem. They are prisoners of war and will be exchanged. [passage omitted]

[Bozanic] A frontline soldier asks the president whether you still think that we will not defeat the Muslims and that they should have their own state.

[Karadzic] To be quite frank, I must sometimes change my views. Somebody told me recently: "You said long ago that the war with the Croats was over." That was true at the time. They began fighting against the Muslims and we did not want to disturb them. Frankly, it was good for us that they fought with the Muslims. We did not fight against the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] for about two years, but we knew that we would have to fight the Croats eventually.

As regards the war with the Muslims, for political and diplomatic reasons, even due to our first strategic interest to secede and not remain together, we always emphasize that it is not our goal to seize their territory and their people and to have them live in our state. We cannot chase them around Europe, although all of Bosnia once belonged to the Serbs. That would by a Pyrrhic victory. Many of our strategists say that we

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would be in trouble if the Muslims surrendered. If they surrendered all their towns and said: "Serb brothers, take them, you won, you can have them." They would create problems in elections. Our goal is to secede and have our own state. We do not care whether the Muslims are protected by the Croats or the West, or whether they will be alone.

However, our viewer is right. It seems that this war cannot end without a victor. Local wars often end without victors. Global wars have victors. Local wars are often interrupted. The first and second Balkan Wars ended in that way. There were no major victors. Iraq and Iran fought and the war ended without a victor. We would like best to have all Serb territory in our state, to make a border, and let them do what they want. We would not care to seize Muslim ethnic territory and to get a melting-pot country that would not enable the development of the Serb national interest, Serb spirit and mentality.

If it is necessary, and I think the viewer is right, that it will be necessary, we will have to chase the enemy out and attack him on his own territory to destroy his military might, not his nation. To defeat him and force him to sign. Even allied forces went as far as Berlin, too. Perhaps we will be forced to go as far as Zenica. I do not consider Sarajevo to be their capital, because it is our capital. But perhaps we will have to reach the final victory in Tuzla and in Zenica to force them to accept a variant.

[Bozanic] Muslim religious leaders say they should carry on with jihad. Our viewer from Zvornik asks: "Can Mr. Karadzic tell us when the war will end?" We know how long it lasts when jihad is at stake.

[Karadzic] Scientists, orientalists, and experts on Islam warn us that the Muslims do not have a right to sign for peace until the final victory or the final defeat. They only honor cease-fires until they regain their strength. That shows that our Muslims are fundamentalists after all. They do not have to be fundamentalists because they are Slavic Muslims, Serb Muslims. The war will probably end either when the international community prevents the Muslims from fighting or when we finally defeat them. The third variant is that somebody forces them to stop now, but that they continue with terrorist actions later on, like in Israel, for instance. [passage omitted]

[Bozanic] Our viewer from Sabac asks the president to propose unification to President Milosevic, for only then will we be able to show the Ustashas that we are strong enough to go as far as Vienna. Why all the way to Vienna? [chuckles] This would solve the Serb question once and for all.

[Karadzic] I appeal to President Milosevic, to everybody in Serbia, especially President Milosevic. He was our leader. The national program, Serb national program, was the most conspicuous part of his program. I appeal to him to assess the situation, to lay all the cards on the table, and to weigh the pros and cons for unification. We have a chance of failing if we are not united. We cannot fail if we are united. I think President Milosevic should do the following: organize a referendum within three weeks, and I and President Martic should do the same, to decide whether the people are for or against the unification. The results of the referendum will show that we want that unification. We will give up our own state only if we are united with Serbia or if we are its federal unit. We do not care either way, as long as we are Serbia. We will all back President Milosevic, as we did in 1987 and later. Now the same informers who reported us for supporting Milosevic in 1987 are gathering around him, some reformists, some of Durakovic's people, Vuk Draskovic, and others. We followed President Milosevic. We do not want to lose him in the process. He must come back to us and become the leader of his nation again like he used to be, and we must unite.

What would happen if we united? We tested many foreigners, asked them what would happen. They said: Croatia would attack you. We do not care, Croatia will attack us all the same. They said: There will be an escalation of war. We do not care, the conflict has already escalated. Escalation is your problem. They said: They may not lift sanctions in that case. They are not lifting sanctions now. Would NATO attack us? No. Would Germany attack us? No. Nobody would attack us. Nobody would dare attack us, for that would be World War III. We must courageously pursue our goals.

I, therefore, appeal to all Serbs in Serbia, first of all the leadership and President Milosevic, and we are not even angry with him, we are sad that he isolated us for a year, but we are grateful for all Serbia's help in these circumstances. We are grateful for all that but we are sad to see the destiny of the Serb nation, that when there is potential, they seem to be afraid to make manly and courageous moves, to shape our own destiny, waiting for the moment when perhaps Serbia will no longer be able to do that. You see, we should have crushed Croatia in 1991. We had the resources and the means to do that then. We could have proclaimed a state that would have included Bosnia, introduced emergency situation or state of war, mobilized our forces. A great number of Muslims would have opted for such a Yugoslavia, for we promised them their federal state, that is, their Bosnia, and Izetbegovic was even supposed to be the first president of that Yugoslavia. We let our resources

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sink, we let the enemy obtain weapons. Can you imagine that now, for the first time in history, the Croats have unsheathed a sword while the Serbs keep their heads down. That is unheard of! That is impermissible! That is a historic failure! Before the war, the Japanese estimated that 100,000 Serbs would die and that the Croats would disappear if the Serbs and the Croats should clash. That Croatia would disappear and that the Serbs would lose 100,000 people. We have already lost many lives. We paid the price and now we want the goods. Thank God we have the goods in the Serb Republic, and the Republic of Serb Krajina and must defend it.

[Bozanic] What will Slobodan Milosevic do about the attacks on the Republic of Serb Krajina apart for sending humanitarian relief?

[Karadzic] I heard that their Supreme Military Council was in session today. I believe that Serbia and Yugoslavia will back the Republic of Serb Krajina. They must do that. It would be a historic mistake, the greatest sin not to support the Republic of Serb Krajina. They must support it together with us. I guarantee that the world is afraid of that.

You see, they present various theses to President Milosevic. Some of his aides, whom I know, tell him: If you do not start acting as a peacemaker, you will turn into Saddam Husayn. You will be like Saddam, like Qadhdhafi. So what! You cannot have Saddam in Europe. Qadhdhafi is a free man, his country and his people are free. They have their problems but they are free. But you cannot have that in Europe, especially as the Serbs headed by Milosevic, headed by Serbia, would be winners. And everybody respects the winner in the end. I do not really know who is advising President Milosevic, or is this perhaps that he himself fears to lead his own people and play that game. The whole world is watching, praying to God that Milosevic will say: I will not interfere. That would be a grave mistake. He must say: I will interfere, do not think I will not. My people will force me, the Army will force me. Historical consciousness will force me. I will intervene, crush Croatia. It will disappear. And you cannot touch me, because I will retaliate on Europe.

[Bozanic] Are UN resolutions that were violated in such a brutal manner still valid?

[Karadzic] No, resolutions are no longer valid. We need the corridor in Brcko. You do not need large corridors in peacetime. For instance, Geneva is located well into French territory and partly also on Italian territory, I am not sure. Half of its airport is on French territory. Swiss planes overfly French territory, but they reached an agreement on that so that they do not charge each other for it.

However, since I am not sure this is the last war against our enemy, we want a 10-mile corridor. [passage omitted]

[Bozanic] What happened with Bihac? Are we going to relinquish launching an offensive toward Bihac, toward the Bihac region, as we did last time?

[Karadzic] I do not like to hear anyone say that we relinquished it. We did not. I gave an order and never withdrew it. My order was to seize Bihac and destroy the 5th Corps. And then we agreed, I do not know whether I put it in writing or whether it was a verbal agreement, that the biggest part of our forces would cross to the left bank and cut off Bihac and use minor forces to seize the town, for street fighting is very dangerous, with a death toll of 2 to 3 percent, which we cannot allow and cannot afford. We would rather work slowly and gradually than make rash moves and get hurt, unless we do it for some other reasons. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, we have a vested interest in the town of Bihac and some points in its vicinity, but we have nothing against Abdic setting up his state in the rest of the area. We think he is legitimate there. The Muslims elected him at the elections, and we are not against Abdic. We do not want to defeat or subjugate Abdic. We want to have either the Serbs or the friends of the Serbs there, i.e. not Serb enemies. Abdic is not our enemy for the time being, and I do not believe he will ever become that. But we are prepared for everything. We believe he realized that it is better to be with the Serbs in peace than fight a war against the Serbs.

Dudakovic, on the other hand, must be defeated. The 5th Corps must be destroyed. My order is still in effect and I will issue it again, if necessary.

[Bozanic] Let me read you several other questions from our viewers. Why is the Serb Republic Army not attacking Sisak, Osijek, and some other towns now, in keeping with the agreement on joint defense? A Hungarian woman from Ilok congratulates President Karadzic on his successful policy with only one remark, why does the Serb Army not attack Zagreb? A woman from Sombor asks whether the Serb Army will launch a strong attack on Croatian towns? A viewer from Sekovici asks why the RSK Army does not target Zagreb, Split, Sibenik, Zadar, and other Croatian towns? A viewer from Bileca wonders what more must the Croats do to provoke the Serbs' response against civilian targets in Croatia?

Mr. President, a difficult day is in front of us, what does it have in store for us?

[Karadzic] You see, those questions are asked by a Croat woman, a Hungarian woman, and this shows that

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they feel that this plight of the Serb nation is just. Of course, we are often blamed for targeting Kutina, Sibenik, so that the Croats could be supported by the West professing to be threatened. We will, of course, carefully select targets for our retaliation, which will be proportionate to their attacks, but we will be honorable and try to target exclusively military and industrial objects, and the entire world will have to notice that.

And why are we not attacking Sisak and other towns? That is why we made changes in our Army and put Gen. Mladic in command of the country, in charge of coordinating the defense, for we have two General Staffs, two supreme commanders, but have nobody in between to coordinate us. We believe we must act as one army and our action must be swift and precise.

[Bozanic] What will happen tomorrow?

[Karadzic] It is almost midnight now. I will take a look at the latest reports. We will see what the Croats intend to do, whether they came to their senses after sustaining losses, whether the international community will be more determined to act.... Frankly, we do not expect that.

[Bozanic] What will be the reaction of our high-ranking officers or our corps commanders?

[Karadzic] They will carry out orders of the two supreme commands. They will have to use whatever means they have at their disposal to defend our people. On the other hand, we must be aware, and we heard that from several famous foreign generals, that we should not listen to what the enemy is saying or what it is offering. We should only see what the enemy can do. We must count on the enemy attempting to do what he is able to do. Consequently, regardless of the signals coming from Zagreb and the world, regardless of their justification, the noise the world is making, while they are winking at the Croats, encouraging them, we must prepare ourselves for the final battle, defend every inch of our territory. Most importantly, I will demand, our leadership accepted that, of course, but I will demand, that the leaderships of the Republic of Serb Krajina and Yugoslavia never, as long as there are Serbs on this world, as long as we are alive, acce[illegible] any possible results of the Croatian aggression like that in western Slavonia. Never! We must retaliate for that and retake that territory, even if it takes a hundred years, if we do not make a deal in the meantime that will be acceptable to our people. This is imperative of our commanders, our soldiers, and our state bodies.

[Bozanic] In conclusion, let us talk about how the Army of the Serb Republic will function from now on.

[Karadzic] The Army will function as it was supposed to function from day one, if it were not for the fact that we were a little relaxed with regard to that, for we did not declare the state of war throughout the country. The Army will function in the briefest possible way. The supreme command and Gen. Mladic will help me make and formulate decisions. I will pass on those decisions to the level of commands, to the head of the General Staff and elsewhere. I will demand that they be carried out in a flash, that is, that I be told immediately whether they are carried out or not, so that we can look for alternative solutions.

We can be very pleased, although there is some minor misunderstanding on the ground. Some low and high-ranking officers do not understand the needs of the economy, of the society. Some even interfere in civilian matters. Some even want to negotiate with Owen and Stoltenberg, etc. and now with Bildt. All that must stop. That would be tantamount to treason. You know, Stoltenberg announced his arrival and then suddenly left because he somehow managed to contact somebody else.

Our people must be aware of one thing: We are a state and, as such, we stand behind our Army. Our Army cannot be held responsible, but it cannot negotiate either. It cannot cooperate with civilian structures of the international community, with our enemy, and cannot negotiate with negotiating teams.

On the other hand, our enemy wants to reduce us from a state to a territory. There is a world of difference between a state and a territory. A territory is an area with some armed rebels, and as long as they hold weapons, until they are disarmed, there will be talks. And this is what the international community is trying to do now. Both on lower and higher levels. They even asked our high-ranking officers to talk to them. That would be treason, very dangerous, and I will not allow that, for we must make them negotiate with our state. If they were to treat us like a territory with armed groups, we will then remain in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Then nobody will ever give us a state. We must defend our state! I sometimes get fed up with slogans "The Army and the people." The Army is the people, but both the Army and the people need the state. Nothing else will do. What good is it to the Kurds that they are a nation when they do not have their own state? Only a Serb state can provide prosperity for the Serb nation.

As regards the chain of command and the functioning of the Army, there will be no radical changes in the supreme command nor in the corps commands. We are very pleased with the corps commanders. I may have made a mistake in that we made Mladic a legend. We

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know our people wants legends. However, we failed to commend certain commanders for their successes. [passage omitted] We must now transform the Army where necessary and then form mobile units, units ready for action, elite units, and hit the enemy where we choose, not where it wants. In short, intensifying the military activity, the chain of command, we will certainly ensure the military victory. We cannot fight the war this year like we did last year now that our enemy has changed. That would obviously lead to a disaster.

[Bozanic] Thank you, Mr. President.

Urges Milosevic To Send Troops

AU0808122595 Paris AFP in English 1218 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 8 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic appealed to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic Tuesday [8 August] to send Yugoslav troops to help Croatian Serbs recover the Krajina region of Croatia.

In an open letter to Milosevic carried by the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA, Karadzic said Milosevic's inaction as Krajina fell to Croatian troops in a lighting offensive "amounts to treason."

RS Urges Conscripts, Volunteers To Join Army

LD0708134495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1302 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 7 Aug (SRNA)—The government of the Serb Republic today called on all military conscripts who have fled to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and volunteers from Serbia, Montenegro, and the diaspora "to join the Serb Army and defend the honor, dignity, and statehood of the Serb people."

A proclamation of the Serb Republic government which was forwarded to SRNA by the Serb Republic bureau for press contacts says:

"The People's Assembly of the Serb Republic has repeatedly called on the Assemblies of Serbia and Montenegro and the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia for unification in a single Serb state.

"In the light of the fact that our Assembly's initiative and call for unification has not been accepted at the most decisive moment for the physical survival of the Serb people, the Serb Republic government calls on all military conscripts who have fled to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and volunteers from Serbia, Montenegro, and the diaspora, to join the Serb Army to defend the honour, dignity, and statehood of the Serb nation.

"Military conscripts from the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina and volunteers from Serbia, Montenegro, and the diaspora should report to Serb Republic Ministry of Defense centers in Bijeljina, Zvornik, and Bileca," says the Serb Republic government's proclamation.

Commissioner Reports Shelling of Serb Refugees

AU0708154295 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] According to reports by the commissioner [for refugees] in Petrovac, the lines of refugees moving in the direction of Petrovac-Kljuc and Mrkonjic Grad-Drvar-Petrovac were bombarded half an hour ago. There are many casualties, since about 80,000 people are concentrated in a very small area in the Petrovac region. The bombardment was carried out by the Croatian Air Force. This criminal act is further evidence of the bestiality of the Croatian aggressor, which decided to bombard the refugees; mostly children, women, and the elderly.

Immediately after this news, the personnel of the comissioner's office in Bijeljina reported that the Muslim forces also used artillery fire to target the line of refugees at Krepsic near Brcko, where there are also casualties.

We will broadcast the statement issued by Dragan Kekic, head of the Coordination Committee for Cooperation With the UN and International Humanitarian Organizations, for Bijeljina Radio.

[Begin Kekic recording] The issue is an unprecedented crime, which the Croatian Air Force committed against the line of refugees that was moving from Drvar towards Petrovac. This is where they struck first; after that, the Croatian Air Force hit the line of refugees that was between Kljuc and Petrovac. Almost at the same time, the contemptible Muslim-Croat forces shelled a corridor near Brcko, at Krepsici, where shells landed, and the Ministry of Health has reported there is a great number of wounded and that there are also some killed.

The only thing we can do is to ask you to release this news, and to ask all the humanitarian organizations that have been providing aid in these areas to appeal to everyone to protect these lines of refugees, since we do not have the facilities to provide shelters, there are no basements next to the road; they are in the open. Alarming news has been arriving from the ground about the difficult conditions under which they have been

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moving, and this is really a monstrous and unheard of act. [end Kekic recording]

[Announcer] After the Croatian Air Force's first strike, the air alarm was sounded in Petrovac. Sonja Runjic will report on that and on the bombardment of the refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina.

[Runjic] An air alarm is in force in the town. The people are in shelters. There are over 70,000 refugees in Petrovac Municipality, and it is impossible to put them in a safe place, and, with the Croatian planes bombarding, another Serb tragedy occurred, in which a great number of refugees were affected, so far, we have not received the exact figures. First aid was administered to all the wounded that could be reached, and they were transferred to the St. Luke general hospital in Petrovac. Those in charge of the hospital are appealing to blood donors and humanitarian organizations to help donate blood in order to provide for the wounded Serb civilians.

While we are on the subject of aid, the high commissioner's office in Petrovac also appeals to all municipalities in the western part of the Serb Republic and to all those who are able to help provide the refugees with bread, the main staple, to do so.

Finally, the lines of refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina are still moving through Petrovac, Prijedor, Mrkonjic Grad, and Kljuc towards the interior of the Serb Republic—Banja Luka and Bijeljina.

UN Confirms Shelling

AU0708162195 Paris AFP in English
1545 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Aug 7 (AFP)—Artillery shells hit panic-stricken Krajina refugees in northern Bosnia on Monday [7 August], causing an unknown number of casualties, the United Nations refugee agency said.

It was not immediately clear who was doing the firing, but Serbs claimed the attacks came from the Croatian side.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) field officers were helping take wounded people to hospital in Kljuc, spokesman Ron Redmond said.

"There is continuing chaos and confusion," he said.

The refugees from the Krajina area of Croatia had been moving along the road between Petrovac and Kljuc, he said, reporting additional shelling in Gradiska, north of the refugees' destination Banja Luka in northern Bosnia.

In Belgrade, UN official Sergey Kosenko said the Serbs accused Croatian forces of attacking the refugees with automatic weapons as well as artillery, but that the United Nations was trying to verify the information.

Red Cross Confirms Shellings

AU0708134295 Paris AFP in English
1333 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 7 (AFP)—The Yugoslav Red Cross said Monday [7 August] that Croatian Army shelling of the Banja Luka area in northern Bosnia was adding to the refugee crisis caused by the collapse of the Serb secessionist state in Croatia. "The big problem is heavy shelling near Banja Luka," where tens of thousands of Croatian Serb refugees are headed, said Rade Dubajic, the secretary general of the Yugoslav Red Cross.

As a result, he told a press conference, many of the Serb refugees who had decided to stay in Banja Luka "are now again on the move."

Bosnian Serb military officials said more than 50 shells were lobbed into the Lijevce Polje area northwest of Banja Luka around dawn, causing extensive damage. There was no independent confirmation of the shelling.

George Weber, secretary general of the International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent societies, said that 150,000 to 200,000 people were "on the move across Bosnia" on Monday. "This morning at six o'clock there was a line of over 20 kilometres (12 miles) of vehicles waiting to cross into Serbia. That represents around 6,000 people," he said during a fact-finding visit to the Serbian capital.

"We estimate that at least 15,000 people have crossed into the Republic of Yugoslavia in the last two to three days," he said, adding that an extra 15,000 people had turned up at the international relief organisation's soup kitchens here. "We are trying to mobilise our resources worldwide to cope with this situation," the secretary general said.

Weber was optimistic about the chances for the operations' success. "We should be able to take care of 75-80 percent of the immediate needs of the refugees," he said. "So we can handle the emergency cases."

Earlier in Geneva the the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said the organization's president, Cornelio Sommaruga, would begin a tour of the former Yugoslavia Monday with stops including Banja Luka. Sommaruga will first visit Belgrade and plans to head on to Sarajevo, Pale, Tuzla, and the Croatian capital Zagreb, it said.

The ICRC Monday stuck by estimates that as many as 200,000 Krajina Serbs might eventually flee to Banja

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Luka. The figure is based on assessment from local Serb authorities. However a UN spokesman in Zagreb said Monday this figure was inflated, and that the number of Serbs who had fled or were planning to do so was more likely to be a maximum of 80,000.

Plight of Refugees 'Critical'

LD0708143595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1408 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 7 Aug (TANJUG)—Over 200,000 refugees have so far fled from the Republic of Serb Krajina to the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, Slobodan Ecimovic, deputy commissioner for refugees of the Serb Republic told TANJUG today.

According to him, the humanitarian situation is critical and is deteriorating by the hour because of the lack of food, water, and the most basic things required for survival.

The hardest situation is in the area of the municipality of Petrovac, where between 60,000 and 70,000 women, children, and elderly persons are staying; it is difficult to provide water for all of them, and several people have already died of dehydration and starvation.

Roads between Petrovac, Kljuc, Prijedor, and Banja Luka are all jammed by columns of refugees, thus making it impossible to deliver the most necessary foodstuffs. [passage omitted]

Preparations for 240,000 Serbs

AU0708152595 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Aug 95

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[FBIS Translated Text] The drama of the refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] is increasingly tragic. Some time after noon today, the Croatian Air Force in the town of Klenovac near Petrovac bombed a refugee column moving toward Banja Luka. Medical and refugee headquarter crews rushed to the spot, which means that we shall have more information in later newscasts; however, it is clear that there are killed and wounded persons.

Routes leading from the western part of the RSK, from Martin Brod and Novi Grad, to Bijeljina are full of refugee columns numbering at least 240,000 people. The refugee headquarters is expecting another 30,000 people to arrive by nightfall and in the course of the night. Following this, there will be no more civilians in the RSK, that is, its western parts. All the medical workers here are on duty at refugee reception points and along the routes over which the unfortunate people are traveling. Numerous soup kitchens have been set up, and water cisterns are in constant movement; only the drivers are occasionally relieved. Mobile garages are unable to repair all the cars breaking down, which is aggravating the traffic situation.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is sending substantial aid. Some 160 metric tons of food has arrived today, and another 800 metric tons are expected tomorrow. Three medical teams have also arrived, and another four are due to follow. Nevertheless, we appeal to everyone for food for soup kitchens, medicines, blood, and other items that will be of help to these unfortunate people. There can be no doubt that this is the largest migration of the Serb people in its history. Sad news keeps coming in; however, encouraging news is coming from the fronts. We can now say beyond any doubt that the Serb Republic Army units have taken the initiative on the Grahovo-Glamoc front and are advancing.

RS Appeals for 'Political, State Unity'

AU0708202395 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a new announcement. The Supreme Command of the Army of the Serb Republic [RS] has issued an announcement to the citizens of our country, which says the following:

On 7 August 1995, the Supreme Command held its regular session and considered the conclusions of the 52d Session of the RS Assembly regarding the issues of introducing the state of war and the military and political situation in the RS and the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]. It was stated that the tragedy of the RSK was mostly caused by the breaking of the political and state unity. This same attempt is threatening the RS.

In order to prevent such tragic possibility, the RS Assembly and government gave their full support to the introduction of state of war and the decisions on renaming the General Staff as the Supreme Command HQ, as well as on the appointment of Lieutenant General Ratko Mladic coordinator of the joint activity of the Army of the RS and the RSK. All these decisions were made in accordance with the constitution and the RS laws.

The Supreme Command has unanimously supported these decisions and taken the position that they be urgently implemented in full at the entire territory of the republic.

In these times, which are crucial and historical for our existence in our centuries-old homes, defense and unity are our only and safest guarantee. In order to secure that, unity in command, as well as in military and civilian organization, is necessary. No one is allowed to oppose

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or hesitate to implement the decisions made, since they carry the risk of the state falling apart.

So far, the state and political unity has been preserved, and it has made it possible for us to achieve great victories. The situation on all the fronts in our republic is favorable, and the conditions have been met to liberate the occupied territory. Everything possible is being done to welcome the people and the army of the RSK in a brotherly way, says the announcement of the RS Supreme Command, signed by the supreme commander of the Serb Republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic.

Serb Assembly Appeals to Mladic To Reconsider

AU0708203095 Prijedor Radio Republike Srpske in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Assembly of the Serb Republic [RS] has supported the decision of the president of the republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, on renaming the General Staff of the RS Army into the HQ of the RS Army, and, in the conditions of immediate danger of war, into the Supreme Command HQ. After many acts and regulations regarding the judiciary and economy were adopted, the 52d Assembly session ended last night on Jahorina. We have Ljiljana Kovacevic's report:

[Begin recording] [Kovacevic] The RS Assembly representatives unanimously, with the exception of five abstentions on the part of independent representatives, supported the decisions of president of the republic and supreme commander of the RS Armed Forces, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, on the introduction of the state of war, the transformation of the General Staff into the HQ of the RS Army, and the appointment of Lieutenant General Ratko Mladic as coordinator in the defense of the RS and the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]. After the discussion of the military and political situation in the western Serb lands in the light of the Croatian aggression against the RSK and the western parts of our republic, Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik stated the following to correspondents:

[Krajisnik] What characterizes today's session is the condemnation of the aggression on the part of our parliamentary club and the entire Assembly, and the appeal to our people and the Republic of Serbia and of Montenegro that the entire Serb people be put on the same front of defending the Serb interests and the western Serb lands. Moreover, a discussion was held regarding certain differences [words indistinct] command pyramid, and it was concluded that the command system be established as soon as possible at the level of the Supreme Command, and that any usurpation of the command system and the orders of the Supreme Command be punished in accordance with the law. In accordance with the explanation of the Ministry of Administration, all the decisions were made in accordance with the constitution and the law on the army and the defense of the Serb Republic.

[Kovacevic] After the assembly ended its session, RS Minister of Information Miroslav Toholj held a news conference at which the decisions of the Assembly session were presented. Pointing out that the RS government, at yesterday's extraordinary session, decided that all the decisions of the RS president and supreme commander of the Armed Forces regarding the changes in the formation and organization of the Supreme Command HQ are completely based on the Constitution and the Law on the Defense and Army, and unanimously supported them, minister Toholj said that the RS Assembly, at its 52d session, accepted these interpretations, as well as the military and political justification of the decision of the president of the republic, and appealed to Lt. Gen. Ratko Mladic to accept his appointment. Minister Toholj also said:

[Toholj] The Assembly expressed the determination that all the forces in the republic, including all the corps commanders, abide by the Constitution and the laws, particularly during the time of immediate danger of war, when all orders must be implemented. All the representatives supported this decision, except for five members of the club of independent representatives, who abstained from the vote.

[Kovacevic] The tragic events in the RSK have shown what can be the result of constant destabilization of the political situation, which some official circles in Belgrade implemented in the RSK and, for a year now, have been implementing in the RS, the goal of which is its military defeat, said Minister Toholj, and added the following:

[Toholj] Bearing this fact in mind, the Assembly and, as I said, all the representatives, supported the decisive measures made by the supreme commander regarding the organization of the situation in the commanding and deployment of the RS Army.

[Kovacevic] The RS Assembly sent a letter to the assemblies of the FRY, Serbia, and Montenegro, pointing out to them the difficulty of the situation for the entire Serb people and appealing to them to make urgent decisions to defend the territory and people of the RSK. The letter points out that what is happening to the Serbs in the RSK and part of the RS is only the actualization of the scenario aimed at destroying the Serb people as a whole.

The RS Assembly letter says, among other things, that it is only the geographical position of the RSK and part

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of the RS that has caused part of this part of the Serb people to now be exposed to physical destruction. [end recording]

Army Reiterates Mladic Support

LD0808104895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0924 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—In a statement forwarded to TANJUG today, the information service of the General Staff of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic Army [BSA] says that there is total unity among the BSA generals and a continuing determination to remain in the same composition while bringing to an end the successful struggle for the defense and freedom of their people.

The unity among Army officer cadres is displayed in their responsible functions, and the absolute support of soldiers and people is evidence of the strength of the Serb Army and its loyalty to the people and its struggle, the statement, signed by Lieutenant Colonel General Milan Gvero, the BSA assistant commander, says.

The statement also notes that Major General Dragomir Milosevic, commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, met Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the BSA General Staff, yesterday.

Having been acquainted with the stands of the colleg of commanders, which he could not attend due to pressing combat activities, Gen. Milosevic fully endorsed both the stands and the letter sent to deputies of the Serb Republic Assembly.

The college of commanders of the BSA General Staff, held 5-6 August in Banja Luka, reached the conclusion that the generals could neither accept nor implement the decision of the Serb Republic president "replacing the BSA General Staff commander [Mladic] and its imposing some other changes in the system, organization, and personnel policy" without prior consultation with anyone from the BSA.

Earlier, major generals Budimir Gavric and Radivoje Miletic confirmed their support by telephone to the stands of the college of commanders, thus confirming the unity of the BSA commanding cadre, the statement says.

The statement goes on to note that the BSA General Staff commander and generals have daily received telegrams of support from soldiers, units, and authorities at lower levels, institutions and citizens of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the world.

Mladic Replacement 'Nonsensical'

LD0808120195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1054 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—[Bosnian] Serb Republic Army General Milan Gvero said today that the people and the [Bosnian] Serb Army [BSA] are united and ready "for further struggle to defend the country and for freedom and an honorable peace."

In a statement forwarded to TANJUG by the information center of the BSA General Staff, Gen. Gvero described as "nonsensical, unnecessary, and damaging" the decision by president of the Serb Republic, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, to replace General Ratko Mladic.

He said that Karadzic, despite realizing that his decision had come at the worst possible moment, continues to insist on replacing Mladic, and that to this end he convened the last session of parliament at which, as Gvero put it, following lengthy talks with deputies at a meeting of parliamentary parties, he secured a convincing support for his decision.

In his statement, Gvero says that the deputies never questioned a report submitted by the General Staff representative and his call for unity in struggle and for the decision to be annulled, but that they nevertheless "out of their own personal interests and fear gave tacit support to the decision of their party leader and president."

According to Gvero, while the political battle against the BSA is in progress, Mladic and his aides have been making superhuman efforts to defend the territory from "an onslaught by the Ustashe and Muslims on the front where the BSA is in an increasingly better position."

"They have no time and do not want to become involved in unnecessary political fighting, and when they feel the need to speak publicly they have not been given an opportunity to do so," Gvero said, adding that for several months Mladic and his aides have been banned from speaking to the media in the Serb Republic.

Daily Views Dispute

AU0808101595 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 6 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by B.H.: "Too Inclined to Belgrade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] By a decision of Radovan Karadzic, supreme commander of the Serb Republic Army, General Mladic has been recalled from his duty of chief of staff of the Serb Republic Army. The letter recalling him reached the commanders of the units of

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the Serb Republic Army yesterday. Gen. Mladic has been appointed special adviser to supreme commander Karadzic.

One official with whom we spoke yesterday said that this decision was allegedly because of the fall of [Bosansko] Grahovo and Glamoc. However, the essence of this move is concealed in the recent letters that President Milosevic sent to Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnian Muslim state, and Ratko Mladic, who is only the top man in the Army and not the president of the state. As our source said, Milosevic thus placed Mladic in the top position and marginalized the presidency of the Serb Republic, its assembly, and particularly Karadzic.

Also, Gen. Mladic is being criticized in Pale for spending too much time in Belgrade, where, our source said, he had practically taken on the role of the leader of the Serb Republic in relations with Milosevic.

However, in the military circles, the Army commanders of the Serb Republic are hostile and disapproving of this decision. This is the reaction: The move has been calculated to create hesitation among the Army ranks, who absolutely support Mladic, just at a time when good organization and firmness are the two qualities that they need the most. The commanders are wondering whether someone wants to weaken the positions of the Serb Republic Army just as it is launching a counteroffensive against Grahovo.

Was this a signal to the Croatian Army to capture Krajina?

Most of the commanders, it is being said in the Army leadership of the Serb Republic, will not heed the decision to recall Gen. Mladic, particularly as it comes from people who have made the least contribution to the struggle.

We have found out from military sources close to the General Staff that Gen. Mladic was furious with the political leadership of the Serb Republic, when his Army was defeated in Grahovo and Glamoc. He apparently told Karadzic then:

"I have been telling you time and time again that the war with the Croats is not over yet, while you have been telling me the opposite."

The general has also been critical of profiteers and trade deals with the Croats in central Bosnia. His Army, even though in position, tried to put a stop to this, but could not, while the police, which are under the protection of the political leadership, would not do anything about it.

There is an ironic joke told in the Army that, the way things are going, Vojo Novak, who is an expert in antiaircraft defense, will be appointed as adviser for antihailstones defense, while Generals Zivomir Ninkovic and Jovo Maric, who are Air Force men, will be getting jobs at air traffic control at a civilian airport.

However, this is a time for neither irony nor jokes, and even less for division.

HDZ Chief Sees Srebrenica Refugees as Threat

AU0708134395 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jul 95 p 8

[Interview with Dario Kordic, chairman of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Andrija Tunjic; place and date not given: "Cooperation Between Muslims and Croats Is Decisive"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although it has been almost one and a half years since the Washington Agreement was signed, there are still people among the Bosniaks-Muslims, as well as among the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, who doubt the accomplishment of the federation. Dario Kordic, chairman of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], talks with us about those problems.

[Tunjic] Mr. Kordic, the end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina still cannot be discerned, partly because the Serbs are rejecting the Contact Group plan and a political settlement. In addition, a genocide has recently been committed against the Bosniaks-Muslims in Srebrenica, and again the world has failed to do what it was supposed to do.

[Kordic] The political and military leadership of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina is very concerned about the genocide being committed against the Bosniak people in Srebrenica, where thousands of civilians, women, and children have been killed. We are also apprehensive of what has happened in Zepa, and what could possibly happen in Gorazde, Bihac, and Sarajevo as well. The impotence of the world politics is constantly repeating itself, as well as of the international community, that is hypocritical and is not able to harmonize views and force the Serbs to accept the plan of the Contact Group that could be a good basis for political negotiations. By accepting the Contact Group's plan and signing the Washington Agreement, the Bosniaks-Muslims and the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina have accepted a political settlement and the federation of the Bosniaks and the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that would form a confederation with the Republic of Croatia.

[Tunjic] The consequences of the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa are tragic, but they could be even more tragic if it came to possibly resettling the refugees

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from Srebrenica to mixed cantons, through which the demographic structure of the Bosniaks-Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be changed.

[Kordic] Yes, and only blind men do not see that danger. Particularly because the Serbian aggression and the exodus of the Bosniaks-Muslims from the occupied regions to the regions of central Bosnia have changed the demographic structure in central Bosnia, and in addition caused a war between the Muslims and the Croats. To those who are familiar with the situation, and few people are not, the aggressor's attentions are clear. He would want to abolish the federation and cause a conflict between the Bosniaks-Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina again. Precisely because of all this the Croats in the Tuzla-Podrinje canton are very concerned, so they have asked for and obtained the guarantees of the Bosnian authorities that the refugees from Srebrenica will not move in their villages or homes. The Croatian goal is clear: We want peace and to stay on our hearths, which we wish to the Bosniak refugees as well.

To Halt Departures

[Tunjic] What has been undertaken in that sense?

[Kordic] On behalf of the government of Herzeg-Bosnia, the head of the Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. Raguz, and his deputy Mr. Ljubic have visited Tuzla, in order to ensure support and aid to the refugees. Then they have talked with Mr. Cer as well, who is the minister of labor of the Federation, and Mr. Hadzic, governor of the Tuzla-Podrinje canton. They have obtained guarantees from the two that not a single Croatian house or apartment will be used to accommodate refugees. Our desire is to see those promises kept. The Croats will help those poor people in any other way. However, even though everything has been agreed upon, after the fall of Zepa and the possible fall of Gorazde, apprehension is growing in central Bosnia, and we have received reports from the HDZ of Kakanj and Zenica, in which the people there are expressing their concern. Nevertheless, I, as chairman of the HDZ, believe in the common sense of the officials of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], that they will not so easily gamble away everything that has been so toilsomely accomplished after the signing of the Washington Agreement.

[Tunjic] Apparently, both peoples still considerably doubt in the federation. Why?

[Kordic] Well, in view of the tragedy that preceded the agreement, and which affected both peoples, resulting in thousands of graves, and thousands of invalids, then the skepticism and doubt in the accomplishment of the federation is clear. However, time will heal the wounds, and to those who are saying that little has been done in the past 18 months, I say that a lot has been done. The most important thing is that they remain sober, that the majority is aware that the war between the Bosniaks-Muslims and the Croats is the past. The second result of the agreement is the freedom of movement for people and goods, although there are places where the situation in that regard is still not satisfactory. What we are dissatisfied with, and where much better results could be achieved, is the return of hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced persons to their homes. With regard to Croats alone, more than 470,000 are out of their homes. If one knows that according to the 1991 census, there were more than 780,000 Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while together with those who declared themselves as Yugoslavs there were more than 830,000, then it is clear to everybody what the situation with the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina is like. Here we deal, perhaps, with the greatest exodus of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina in their history. Of this number, some 200,000 have been displaced, as a consequence of the conflict between the Bosniaks-Muslims and the Croats. We want that all the displaced persons, regardless of their religion or nationality, return to their homes. Their return will be the decisive impetus to the accomplishment of the Federation, which is in Croatian interest, and only then shall we be able to speak about the survival of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Necessary Establishment of the So-Called Majority Municipalities

[Tunjic] People think that politicians should be resolving all those problems much more expeditiously, and also because they are living in poverty.

[Kordic] There are spheres in life that should be more important than politics. However, in order to make that decisive step and to secure everything that has been achieved so far from devaluation, it is necessary to create preconditions not only for the return of refugees but also to halt their departures. Because, unfortunately, from the signing of the Washington Agreement until today more than 45,000 Croats have left the regions under the control of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Tunjic] How many Muslims have left the regions under the control of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]?

[Kordic] Such occurrences exist as well, but to a far smaller degree. The main reason for leaving the region is the slower revival of the economy than the people expected. Therefore, our strategy must be to strengthen borderline areas in which Croats live. Besides, there are also general reasons that have affected both peoples.

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Occasionally, there happen to be maltreatments as well. But the most decisive reason for leaving is the lack of right in the transitional period, that has been endorsed by the Constitutional Assembly of the Federation, to form municipalities with a majority people, be it the Croats or the Bosniaks.

[Tunjic] Why is it not being implemented? Who is obstructing it?

[Kordic] I responsibly claim that among the Croatian people there exists the political will, and we are interested in that. Because, without the verification of the model of forming new municipalities, one cannot speak about keeping back the remaining populace, let alone about the return of refugees to their homes. The second reason in this transitional period is that the introduction of the Croatian curriculum and the Croatian language in schools has been impeded. It is also important that the Croatian youngsters are recruited in the HVO units, which in some places has been resolved, and in some places has not.

Federation and Confederation: A Right Way

[Tunjic] So it is about elementary human rights. The same is demanded by the Bosniaks-Muslims in the regions of Stolac, Prozor, and Capljina.

[Kordic] Everything we demand for Croats in the regions under the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army control we have to make possible for the Bosniaks-Muslims in the regions under the HVO control. Therefore I hope and believe that with the implementation of the Constitution of the Federation many skepticisms and problems will become the past. Therefore, I repeat, in view of all the circumstances through which we have gone, we have to be satisfied, although not too satisfied, with the results that have been achieved since the signing of the agreement. A political and psychological climate has been created that is making impact on the ordinary man, who is believing more and more that this is a path for both peoples that ensures their survival, and their being equal in building the Federation and establishing the confederation with the Republic of Croatia. It is the way we have to go.

[Tunjic] The Croatian community of Herzeg-Bosnia and the friars of the Silver Bosnia [central Bosnia] have had many disagreements in their views of the problem of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and how that problem is to be resolved.

[Kordic] I deeply believe that each time we have reached an optimal consensus and unity of the Croatian people in the implementation of the official Croatian policy. The political and military leadership, as well as the Catholic Church, are concerted in the desire to preserve Croatianhood in Bosnia-Herzegovina, of course, with all its sovereign rights, which is the content of the Washington Agreement. In that sense we are on the best way to employ all of our intellectual forces in the same direction and to push the same cart, still allowing for sometimes different opinions of certain matters.

[Tunjic] For instance, do you consult with the representatives of the Croatian National Council [HNV] on how to resolve the problem of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Kordic] I would not consider such forces important.

[Tunjic] They still exist, though.

[Kordic] They exist on the paper, but the question is which party is supported by the Croatian people. I tell you, not because I am its chairman, that the HDZ is the political force and is even more than that, and people trust it. As for other parties, they have to find support among the people, and understand how significant they are in order to work for the benefit of their people, and to meet the interests of the Croatian people, which is the liberation of the Croatian regions. If they fail to understand that, they will remain shepherds without a flock.

[Tunjic] Recently some irresponsible people among both the Croats and the Bosniak-Muslims caused incidents in which several individuals were killed. Can such people cause a war as well?

[Kordic] Regardless of the intelligence services that are active on both sides and want a new war, the people do not want it. Particularly because such an insane adventure would lead both peoples to ruin. It is exactly for that reason that our political leaderships are unanimous in condemning the offenders. The political leaderships are aware that the development of mutual trust may act as a bastion against the Serbian aggression and great Serbian aspirations. At the same time, the mutual trust is a guarantee of the federation, the military alliance with the Republic of Croatia, and the confederation with the Republic of Croatia. Both sides are aware of that, and we shall not allow individuals to play with our destinies or prevent us from accomplishing the projects agreed upon.

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Akashi Tours Knin; City Largely Intact

AU0708133795 Paris AFP in English 1338 GMT 7 Aug 95

[Report by Francoise Michel]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, Croatia, Aug 7 (AFP)—UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi toured the former secessionist Croatian Serb stronghold of Knin Monday [7 August], a town he found deserted by its 30,000 residents who fled the Croatian Army advance. But although the streets were largely empty, Akashi found a place eerily intact despite the often intense shelling on the town which was recaptured on Saturday, five years after being wrested from Zagreb's control.

Signs of a swift exit were prevalent. Linen hanging in windows, long dried by the blazing August sunshine. Chairs that should have been wilting under the weight of bodies basking in the sun, were empty. A shopping bag was left abandoned in front of a grocer's stall.

Akashi ventured to Knin with a small group of journalists, a day after Croatian President Franjo Tudjman toured the area. The fighting appeared to have been limited in Knin, dominated by its medieval fortress over which the Croatian flag has been hoisted. Only the occasional building had been hit by shells but the pavement of the main street was strewn with glass and rubble. The burned out hulks of vehicles were waiting to be taken away.

Yet the hospital was spared. Only around 20 patients remained from the 300 who were there the day before the Croatian offensive, codenamed Operation Storm, was launched at dawn on Friday. A nurse from one of the humanitarian aid organisations, who insisted on anonymity, explained she had seen around 40 corpses. However she was unable to say whether they were soldiers or civilians.

The Croatian Army is currently camping in the school courtyard and still patrols the streets. The conquering forces have left traces of their victorious march through, with empty beer cans strewn on the ground and some houses showing clear signs of having been looted.

On one wall, a portrait of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman was bordered with a large inscription: "Tudjman, the victor". Nearby, on the door of what was just a few days ago the headquarters of secessionist Serb troops, soldiers had unscrewed the plaque bearing the name Milan Babic, the leader of the secessionist Serbs.

Tudjman, Cervenko Talk With Izetbegovic, Delic

AU0808110595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has bestowed the grand order of Queen Helen on President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and the grand order of Duke Branimir on Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic.

On the Croatian side, the ceremony was attended by Hrvoje Sarinic, Nedjeljko Mihanovic, Nikica Valentic, Mate Granic, Gojko Susak, Bosiljko Misetic, General Zvonimir Cervenko, and many other officials. On the Bosnia-Herzegovina side, the ceremony was attended by Kresimir Zubak, Kasim Trnka, General Rasim Delic and others. On the side of the diplomatic corps in Croatia, the ceremony was attended by Ambassadors Peter Galbraith, [words indistinct], and [word indistinct].

Bestowing the orders, President Tudjman said that this was a sign of recognition to Messers. Izetbegovic and Sacirbegovic for their contribution to the development of relations between the two countries and the implementation of the Washington Agreement. The cooperation between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian and Bosniak nations is not important only for bilateral relations but also for the defeat of the Serb aggressor, in which the two countries have the support of the Western democratic world and the Islamic countries, Tudjman said. The first results, he said, of this cooperation are a motivation for a further development of bilateral relations.

Expressing his gratitude for the order, President Izetbegovic stressed that he could confirm that such cooperation between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina was also the strategic commitment of his country, and that it can be a stimulus for the increasingly successful struggle against the common Serb aggressor.

Following the ceremony, the Croatian-Bosnia-Herzegovina state talks began and are still under way.

Government Withdraws Cooperation From Carl Bildt

LD0708142095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A session of the Croatian government today examined statements by Carl Bildt, cochairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia.

It was said that Bildt's attitude and statements are extremely at odds with the peace mediator's mandate with

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which he was entrusted by the international community. This shows that Bildt has lost his credibility as an international mediator, and hence the government is of the opinion that the Republic of Croatia should no longer cooperate with Mr. Bildt. At the same time it was stressed that Croatia is ready for full cooperation with the international community, the European Union, and the conference on former Yugoslavia.

Bildt Comments on Exclusion

LD0708165495 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in Swedish 1545 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Now over to the announcement from Croatia that the country no longer wants anything to do with EU mediator Carl Bildt. This follows a suggestion by Bildt that President Franjo Tudjman may have been responsible for war crimes in the recapture of Krajina. A government statement says that Bildt is persona non grata in Croatia, but the Croatian Government intends to continue its cooperation with the international peace conference and with the European Union. We have asked Carl Bildt how he views this announcement:

[Begin recording] [Bildt] It only confirms what we have known since Thursday [3 August], namely that they have no interest in negotiations, but have chosen the military way. It also indicates that they are very sensitive to international criticism. If you want, you can interpret that in a positive way, but above all, regrettably, it demonstrates that it is the military way they have chosen.

[Correspondent Lars Eisjoe] Will you be able to continue as a mediator?

[Bildt] Regrettably, there are no negotiations to continue. That is the tragic thing since last Thursday. Actually, Thorvald Stoltenberg has been conducting these negotiations, but when we had the Croatian foreign minister for talks here in Geneva yesterday, he made it very clear that Croatia does not see any negotiations that could be continued, but they have chosen the military solution with all its consequences and all the misery that I think will follow in its wake.

[Eisjoe] It sounds as if you have given up?

[Bildt] In this section, the Croatian Government chose its way last Thursday [3 August] when they, after talks led by Thorvald Stoltenberg here in Geneva that resulted in the seven-point agreement, it was evident that they had made a decision on military operations and in the morning artillery fire against Knin started.

[Eisjoe] What will this mean for the future?

[Bildt] That is difficult to know. There is a future in different dimensions. One future is for Croatia, which now believes that it has, and I suppose it has, won Krajina, and I see various statements by Croatian spokesmen who are saying that Krajina no longer exists as a historic concept. But they may have lost Europe, the opportunity to become closer to Europe, which otherwise may have existed, but that is their choice.

As for other aspects of the conflict, I now believe, above all, that the refugee tragedy will be in the foreground. There is a very, very large number of refugees. The roads are completely choked; one cannot move. It is difficult to know, various estimates are circulating, but it is one of the very biggest refugee disasters during this entire horrible war that has now been unleashed.

It is clear that it will also have political consequences in the various countries where these refugees are forced to settle, dreaming about returning one way or another. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Granic Ready for Talks With Krajina Serbs

LD0708154295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic informed the government about the situation in the occupied areas in Slavonia and Baranja [in eastern Croatia]. Let us hear what he had to say.

[Begin Granic recording] The state of occupation of these areas is practically a state of complete occupation by Belgrade. Belgrade arms and pays them, it maintains complete communication with them, it controls both bridges. These areas are economically, and in the terms of telecommunications, completely integrated into Serbia's system, or rather, of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. They are also integrated into their [Serbia's] monetary and customs systems.

On the other hand, there are constant attacks on Osijek, Vinkovci, Zupanja, and other Croatian towns. Belgrade has carried out the additional mobilization of special units. Yesterday it recalled ambassador Veljko Knezevic for consultations. There are constant troop movements along the line of separation and I can say that the Croatian Government is closely monitoring all these developments.

At the moment Croatia does not intend to liberate militarily these occupied areas.

Croatia warns the international community of the untenable state of complete occupation, and points to Belgrade as the party bearing full responsibility for it.

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Croatia is ready to hold talks with the Croatian Serbs living in those occupied areas, but not with Milan Martic, Milan Babic, or anyone who is not from the occupied areas. We are calling on the Croatian Serbs to urgently start negotiating a peaceful reintegration. We are ready to take advantage of the good services of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia.

The Republic of Croatia requests that the United Nations urgently implement the UN Confidence Restoration Operation mandate.

Today Croatia recalled our ambassador Zvonimir Markovic, the head of the Belgrade office, for consultations. [end recording]

Defense Minister Susak Briefs Press on Situation

LD0708200695 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 7 Aug 95

[News conference by Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak at the Intercontinental Hotel in Zagreb, with questions by national and international correspondents, identified where possible—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Susak] Ladies and gentlemen, I will briefly try to explain the stance of the Republic of Croatia, what it was that provoked "Operation Storm '95." You know that, over the past four years, the Croatian Government and the Croatian leadership, led by President Franjo Tudjman, in cooperation with the international community, the European Union, the United Nations, and other relevant players, tried to do everything to reintegrate the occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia into Croatia's constitutional and legal system by peaceful means.

We have been exposed to countless humiliations in front of our people, but, in the interest of saving lives and sparing victims, we tried to do everything to achieve the peaceful reintegration through negotiations, with the international community's mediation and in the framework of first the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and now the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] mandate. I firmly believe that, if the situation around Bihac had not developed the way it did, our efforts would still be working in the same direction.

However, if you look at the map, you know that, in strategic and geopolitical terms, Croatia could not allow the so-called Serb Republic and the so-called Republic of Serb Krajina to become so entangled that it would become 10 times more difficult to liberate Croatian areas.

Over the past four years, under the conditions that existed, while we were under the embargo and coping with Croatia's economic situation, we tried to create a military power that would manage and be capable of carrying out its task at a given moment, when the Croatian leadership assesses that it is time and when the president of the Republic issues the order. The decision was made 10 days ago when, following the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa, we could no longer afford to wait and see something similar happening in Bihac.

We spent several days in preparation, we submitted a report to the supreme commander, which said that we were capable of doing it, and he made the decision and signed the order.

We launched the operation ["Operation Storm"] at 0500 on 4 August, and today I can say with pleasure that the military operations in the former Sectors North and South have been completed. The task of establishing the constitutional and legal system and the control of Croatian territory in these two areas was completed at 0600 [0400 GMT] this morning.

At the moment, approximately 5,000-6,000 rebels are surrendering in Topusko, but there is no more fighting. There could be some police operations, but the military operations have been completed. So the Croatian army, helped by the Croatian police, managed to complete its task in 84 hours.

There were several incidents during the operation, and, as a representative of the Republic of Croatia, I feel it my duty to apologize, especially to the Kingdom of Denmark. One of its soldiers was killed in an unfortunate incident. We consider that event as an incident. There was another incident when a Croatian army officer used several Danes as a human shield. Fortunately, there were no casualties in this incident. However, we have launched legal proceedings against that person. He was detained, and you will be informed in due time about what the Government of the Republic of Croatia will do to that person when the trial is over.

We also regret that two members of the Czech battalion lost their lives in the operation in another incident.

I would ask you to understand that over 200,000 soldiers took part in the operation on our side and on the enemy side; in accordance with the Split Agreement, this was a coordinated action between Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bearing that in mind, I think these incidents are insignificant.

We tried to do everything within the framework of the international law, to treat civilians in accordance with the provisions of the international law. When we were beginning the action, on day one of the action, we tried to bypass all larger towns, thus giving rebel Serbs an opportunity to surrender. However, when they started shelling Croatian towns in free areas instead of

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surrendering, we decided to see that the action was completed and all of their places seized. We completed this action by 0600 [0400 GMT] this evening.

[Mediator] Your questions, please.

[Correspondent Ilija Andric] Ilija Andric from the Croatian Radio in Ljubuski. First of all, I would like to congratulate you on the successful action. I have two questions. First, what influence on the balance of forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina will the Serb army from the former occupied areas have, which is now located in the Banja Luka area? Second, you had coffee in Drnis yesterday. When do you expect to have coffee in Vukovar? Thank you.

[Susak] In reply to question number one, I can say that those who fled there can only create bigger chaos than there is. When will I have coffee in Vukovar? That depends not on me but on the decision of the supreme commander. You will most probably have an opportunity to put this question to him in one of the coming days.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I have just returned from Knin. Approximately 800 refugees have sought shelter in a UN camp there. What will happen to those refugees? Will you question them, or will you let them go? What about reports on looting?

[Susak, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I visited Knin yesterday. The Croatian police have taken control of Knin. With regard to those you call refugees, the position of the Republic of Croatia is clear. All those wishing to leave the Republic of Croatia can do so, and those wishing to remain in the Republic of Croatia must be registered with the legitimate bodies of the Republic of Croatia—i.e., civilian police who will discharge their duties in accordance with the laws and the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia.

[Correspondent] And the looting?

[Susak] I am not aware of any looting, sir.

[Correspondent] We saw some soldiers who stole some vehicles. Is that good behavior?

[Susak] This is something to which the civilian police will react.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Channel Four News. Has the Storm operation brought the situation closer to peace?

[Susak, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] In the past four years, the international community, including our friends, who have been very supportive and helped us in many important decisions, believed in the myth that was created before about the Yugoslav army and that the Serb army is unconquerable and that we have to accept their conditions for negotiations. However, it has been shown now that it is a completely different situation. We have different positions for negotiations. Many people from abroad are of the opinion that the action has shown that we can now assume new positions for the resumption of negotiations.

[Correspondent] Mr. Minister, can you comment on the following, please? Yasushi Akashi now demands that the Croatian Government observe human rights. At the same time, Serb aircraft attempted to bombard Kutina, where chemical-industry plants are situated, which also represents a danger to civilians in the area. Has Croatia accepted President Yeltsin's invitation for President Tudjman to meet Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic?

[Susak] We accept the statements by Mr. Akashi that Croatia must respect human rights—Croatia wishes to do so—we are a member of the Western civilization and wish to conduct ourselves in that manner. What the Serbs are doing speaks volumes about them—for example, the bombing of civilian targets in the Republic of Croatia.

With regard to whether the meeting will be accepted, we have not been officially informed about that meeting. The president will make a decision whether he will accept it or not.

[Correspondent] I would like to ask you at the end of this action, because of the Croatian nation and the Croatian state in the future, to assess for our and foreign public the strength, morale, discipline, and responsibility of the Croatian army today and its role in this extremely volatile region.

Second question: Is there any danger of a large-scale military clash in the future between the Croatian state and the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia? Thank you.

[Susak] I believe it is superfluous to comment on the readiness and effectiveness of the Croatian army. This action speaks for itself.

Whether this will escalate into a wider conflict between Croatia and the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will largely depend on the stance of the international community.

You know that UN Sector East, which borders the Republic of Yugoslavia, is still under occupation, and Croatia has not abandoned it. Our estimate is that, if

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negotiations fail, Croatia is capable of liberating that area by force. Whether Yugoslavia will at that point resort to a military operation in order to keep Vukovar—that is up to them.

I can affirm with full responsibility here in front of the Croatian public that, with what it has at its disposal today, in terms of personnel and equipment, Croatia is capable of carrying out any task and coming out to the Croatian borders.

[Correspondent Mladen Schwartz] Mladen Schwartz, editor in chief of the monthly ULTRA of the New Croatian Right Party. Dear Mr. Minister Gojko Susak, now that you have outlined the situation, that there is no longer any danger, that everything has been more or less completed, still, I have one question for you: Is there any unfortunate possibility of any danger from Petrova Gora or the center or the nest where there are still chetnik, criminal Serb bandits? Is there any danger of Sisak, Karlovac, and other surrounding towns being shelled, or has that danger now disappeared?

[Susak] I think that both Sisak and Karlovac are beyond the range of what they could potentially have. Whether they are still in some hills that we have not mopped up well, whether there are weapons hidden, we do not know that. Our judgement is: No.

[Correspondent Maja Franlich] Maja Franlich. Mr. Minister, this afternoon BBC radio reported that the cease-fire negotiations, as they called it, have collapsed and that heavy fighting continues. You have just said that the operation has been completed. Can you comment on the BBC report?

[Susak] I do not know how much you know, but late last night General Peters, on behalf of UNCRO forces and General Cervenko, the chief of the General Staff of the Croatian army, signed what could be called a truce [primirje], providing an opportunity is given to rebel Serbs to surrender. This refers to two corps, east and west of Glina. This should have begun at 0600 [0400 GMT] this morning when an UNCRO officer was due to meet General Stipetic. Unfortunately, UNCRO did not turn up until 0900; it left for Glina only at 1030 or 1100, and by then the Serbs had managed to pull out most of their weaponry across the border. In this case, we think that the Republic of Croatia has to some extent been outmaneuvered. We then changed our decision and ordered our forces to push toward the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina in two directions, south of Glina and Hrvatska Kostajnica. We completed this successfully. There is no fighting any longer. At this moment, between 5,000 and 6,000 rebel Serbs are surrendering in the region of Topusko.

[Correspondent Ian Traynor, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Ian Traynor, GUARDIAN. Minister, what conditions has the Croatian Government set for the surrender of the 6,000 armed soldiers in Topusko?

[Susak, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] The conditions are that those who want to leave Croatia can do so only under the guidance of UNPROFOR, but they will have to leave all of their weapons in Croatia. Those who wish to stay, President Tudjman and the prime minister have explained what their position in Croatia is.

[Correspondent] [question indistinct]

[Mediator] Please do not ask questions unless you have a microphone.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Ibrahim [surname indistinct] from (?AL HAYAT) newspaper. Belgrade is within the range of the Croatian army missiles. Will you use these missiles if there is war between the two countries? Will you demobilize your army after "Operation Storm"?

[Susak in English, with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] That is a very hypothetical question. I do not think that at any time the Republic of Croatia will try to bomb Belgrade, where the civilian population lives. That is a different story. That will depend on the developments of the situation and if war breaks out.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Mr. Minister, could you explain the role that the BiH [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Army had in "Operation Storm"? Second, you said that you tried to treat civilians according to international law. Yet there was indiscriminate bombing of Knin and its civilian population. How do you square this with international law?

[Susak, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] May I inform you, sir, that for the whole day of the operation we surrounded Knin from both sides and shelled only the military barracks. If you go to Knin, you will see that it was not bombarded in any way compared with other towns bombarded by the Serbs. But we gave them a chance on the first day (?before we started bombarding). What do you mean by ViH? What is ViH? I beg your pardon?

[Correspondent] You said that the Bosnian Army also participated in "Operation Storm."

[Susak] This was a coordinated action. The (?Bosnian) Federation consists of the BiH Army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council]. They engaged the forces

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in the region, the HVO engaged the forces in the region of Glamoc an Grahovo, and the 5th Corps of the BiH Army engaged the forces around the Bihac area. In that sense, it was a coordinated action.

[Correspondent] What do you mean by war criminals? Are you going to detain all men and, if so, for how long? Are you going to...[does not finish the question]

[Susak] The meaning of war criminal is known. There are international laws and conventions that precisely define who a war criminal is. We are not going to declare anyone a war criminal under some laws of ours. We act in keeping with international conventions. Any man who carries arms, regardless of his age, is a criminal. This is our position.

The second and third question, how long we will detain them, will depend on the situation. We have to register them. There was no legal system in that part of Croatia. We have to register them, to list them.

[Correspondent] Will they be imprisoned?

[Susak] No, they will be in camps. We will not put them in prison. They will be under surveillance. They have to be under surveillance for their security.

[Correspondent Kendzic] Rehan Ante Kendzic, the ULTRA magazine of the New Croatian Right. Mr. Minister of War, Mr. Gojko Susak, will Croatian political philosophy and the military skills of the Croatian people operate in coordination with the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army? Will they liberate the entire area of Bosnia-Herzegovina before the storm dies out?

[Susak] First, I am no minister of war. I am the minister of defense of the Republic of Croatia. Your second question, whether the Croatian army will take part in the liberation of the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina, we signed the Split Agreement under which Croatia is duty-bound, at the request of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, to do everything within its capacity to help liberate Bosnia-Herzegovina. Croatia will continue to pursue this policy.

[Correspondent] Have you received any kind of explanation as to why NATO did not neutralize the air base near Banja Luka, or at least attempt to bomb those aircraft that took off and bombarded Croatian civilian targets?

[Susak] A few hours ago, I met Ambassador Galbraith. I asked the same question you did. Regrettably, there is no unanimity. You know there are still two keys. Several countries, including the United States, would have certainly intervened in such a case because this was an act of international terrorism. However, there is no way of turning that other key.

[Correspondent] Can you tell me about your military alliance with Bosnia-Herzegovina? Are you going to give them arms? If so, what kind of arms are you going to give the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army?

[Susak] Sir, it is hard to answer such a question in peacetime, let alone in wartime. I said that Croatia had signed the agreement on military cooperation and aid with the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. In this context, Croatia will do its best to have Bosnia-Herzegovina liberated.

[Correspondent] Could you tell us something about the number of casualties in this campaign? How many dead and wounded on both sides? How many dead and wounded civilians?

[Susak] As yet, we have no reliable reports on the number of casualties on the other side. Confirmed reports received by (?1400 hours) today say that there have been 118 killed and 620 wounded on the Croatian side.

[Correspondent Porto] Giovanni Porto of the Italian news magazine PANORAMA. Can you officially confirm on behalf of your government that Croatia will always oppose any kind of division of the sovereign state of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Susak] Although we have been hearing these accusations for the past four years, Croatia's position was always, Croatia was the first to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our official policy is that Bosnia-Herzegovina is a state recognized by the United Nations.

[Correspondent] This position will be maintained in the future? Are you going to maintain this position?

[Susak] This is and will be the position of the Republic of Croatia.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] [name indistinct] Netherlands. I want to ask you about the statement you made about camps. Which men exactly will be put into these camps?

[Susak, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] We have to register all of the people who were in the occupied territory because they have not been registered. These are not jails or camps in terms of camps in the war zone. Civil police are following military police. That is in the agreement between the Ministry of Interior and me. As we move in civil police, you may, beginning tomorrow morning you will be able to travel through all of the occupied territory, and you will see for yourself that the civil police are doing the job, and we have to register the citizens who have remained.

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[Correspondent] Which people are put into camps? Because this sounds threatening and I do not think you mean it to sound like that.

[Susak] What do you mean camps?

[Correspondent] Well, you mentioned the word "camps." That is why I am asking you to specify.

[Susak] For lack of a better word, I used that word. They will be somewhere safe, where the police can look after them.

[Correspondent] Excuse me, you know this is a very heavy word in this country, in this area. A camp is a place where you lock the people away, and, as we have seen with your enemy, this sometimes results in tragic events. That is why I am asking you to specify exactly what you mean.

[Susak] You are being sarcastic now. This word "camp" in this territory means also what it means in English. Could be: Having a good time, too.

[Correspondent] If they are going to shell Dubrovnik again, are you going to respond this time, or will you complain to the United Nations?

[Susak] If they continue to shell Dubrovnik, I do not know what the name of the operation will be, but it will be something similar.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Mr. Minister, there is a report saying that some U.S. retired Army officers were involved in this operation.

[Susak, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] There were no foreign officers involved in this operation. What we have is a public agreement. There are some retired U.S. officers, but they have U.S. Government approval to instruct the Croatian ministry, more than the army, on how to better organize. But, as for operations, they have not even been informed, let alone participated in one.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Just one question. How are you going to help if the Islamic world provides weapons to the Bosnian Government? How are you going to help to provide this armament to the Bosnian Army in Bihac and other places?

[Susak, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] They will find ways.

[Correspondent] Minister, are you going to grant the press access to the Topusko and Dvor area, where the refugees are gathered?

[Susak] What we would beg is the understanding of you that you have to go with our protection. But tomorrow you will be able to go to Topusko, anyone of you who so wishes.

[Mediator] Two more questions, please.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] The first question for Mr. Susak. Will you allow the press or UN or European Community monitors access to places—I understand you do not want to call them camps—the places where you are going to register the people?

[Susak, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] We will proceed the same way as we proceeded in what was called western Slavonia, Sector West. I think it was in accordance with international conventions.

[Correspondent] Minister, will you allow journalists and monitors access?

[Susak] I just answered you. Yes, we will.

[Mediator] I thank Mr. Susak. Our time is up. Tomorrow morning, if there are any new developments, the conference will take place at 1000.

[Susak, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I just want to reiterate to you that the UNCRO mandate, the presence of UNHIC [as heard] is we come in Croatia, still, in the whole territory, and there will be no place in the former occupied territory, where the international community will be forbidden to have a presence.

To Order Demobilization

LD0708155295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Following a report on the military, political, and security situation, all government departments were tasked today with restoring as soon as possible normal living conditions in the liberated areas. The first results will be reviewed on 1 September at a session of the Croatian Government. This session will be held in Knin. Sanja Rabuzin-Pavic reports:

[Rabuzin-Pavic] In Croatia nothing is the same as it was only a few days ago. The liberation of Croatia's occupied areas is one of the greatest moments in Croatian history, prime minister Nikica Valentic said. Following the splendid success of Operation Storm we now have to perform a civilian and economic storm over the next few weeks which will return life to the liberated areas.

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[Begin Valentic recording] Our aim right now, which we have to bring into being, is to return life to most of the Croatian towns and villages as early as this fall. [end recording]

[Rabuzin-Pavic] Defense Minister Gojko Susak presented a report at this session of the government.

[Begin Susak recording] We estimate that Croatian forces will be in control of the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia in these two sectors, as they used to be called, by 1800 or 1900 tonight. [end recording]

[Rabuzin-Pavic] Minister Susak reported that last night the surrender of the enemy force in one part of former Sector North had been agreed on.

[Begin Susak recording] Whereas UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] was supposed to turn up this morning, it did not turn up until 0900. By which time all of them [Serb forces], or at least some of them, had managed to remove both their manpower and hardware. Realizing that neither side was sticking to this agreement, we changed our orders, so we are continuing to mop up the area militarily. [end recording]

[Rabuzin-Pavic] Defense Minister Gojko Susak also said:

[Begin Susak recording] Following an agreement with the president of the republic I will today sign a demobilization order for 70,000 men, taking effect as of tomorrow morning. [end recording]

[Rabuzin-Pavic] Minister Susak and Interior Minister Ivan Jarnjak stressed the successful cooperation of the army and the police.

Aide: Serbs Must Surrender Arms in Order To Leave

LD0708175195 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We will continue the news bulletin with Hrvoje Sarinic's statement, the head of the Office of the President of the Republic of Croatia, made this afternoon. He said that Croatia demanded of the rebel Serbs to hand over all their weapons and ammunition, and that they could leave only after that.

We will secure the departure of all those who want to leave, but only under the condition that they lay down their arms, Sarinic said. The problem is that soldiers, mixed with civilians, are at the moment not handing over their weapons, Sarinic explained the essence of the problem. He stressed that Croatia demands unconditional surrender of arms by the rebel Serbs, and only when they comply with this condition will they all be able to leave in a dignified manner. He explained that the Croatian side considered as arms heavy weapons and all other weapons and ammunition. Sarinic went on to stress that the ways of surrendering the arms were currently being discussed.

Zagreb Disputes Refugee Figures

AU0808111295 Paris AFP in English 1052 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 8 (AFP)—Croatia played down Tuesday [8 August] the scale of the refugee crisis sparked by its offensive against separatist Serbs, rejecting claims by aid organisations that the number of refugees could rise to more than 200,000. "I deny there could be 200,000 refugees," Croatian Humanitarian Affairs Minister Ilica Kostovic told reporters, referring to figures put forward notably by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

He said the total population of the secessionist Krajina region before the four-day offensive was 120,000, of whom 30,000 were soldiers. He denied a UN estimate of 30,000 to 50,000 Serb refugees trapped between Glina and the border town of Dvor, south of Zagreb, saying there were only 10,000 to 15,000 in the area.

Meanwhile UN High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman Ron Redmond said in Geneva that there were "approximately 150,000 people on the move" in Krajina, northern Bosnia and as far as Serbia. An estimated 30,000 were on the road southeast of Glina and another 10,000 in the hills near nearby Topusko.

"Certainly in the last three years this is the fastest and largest movement to come at any one time," he added, but said it was not regarded as "an out and out ethnic cleansing."

UN Expects Many Serb POW's

AU0708131795 Paris AFP in English 1248 GMT 7 Aug 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, August 7 (AFP)—The influx of tens of thousands of Croatian Serb refugees and defeated Krajina soldiers into Bosnia after the collapse of their rebel state in Croatia is likely to alter the balance of forces in the Bosnian conflict, Western military analysts and diplomats said Monday [7 August].

The fate of what remains of the approximately 50,000-strong Krajina Serb Army is unclear. A number were offering resistance to the Croatian Army on Monday. However, a UN official said that a proportion have

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already been killed and significant numbers are likely to become prisoners of war.

Nevertheless, the Bosnian Serb Army which is stretched for manpower will be the main beneficiary of this sudden movement. With between 60,000 and 80,000 men, the Bosnian Serb Army, though easily outgunning the Bosnian Government Army, has lately felt the limits of its infantry resources.

UN spokesman Chris Vernon said the Serbs would "probably gain somewhere in the region of 25,000 soldiers" as a consequence of the Croatian Army action. Facing a much stronger Croatian Army, the Bosnian Serbs will make it a "priority to rapidly integrate these men into their forces," a Western military source said.

But problems are likely to arise between the two Serb camps since the Bosnian Serb Army did not lift a finger to help defend their ethnic brethren in the Krajina. Additionally, many of these extra troops will be deployed as a bulkwark against further advances by the Croats from the west.

However, the Bosnian Serbs themselves face serious internal difficulties. Their Army commander, General Ratko Mladic, is locked in a wrangle with the Bosnian Serb political leader Radovan Karadzic over who controls the military. "Mladic will probably win this dispute if it came to a fight but in all liklihood, the two men will make up for the sake of solidarity," the military analyst said.

The main losers in this process will be the Bosnian Government and its forces. Though they will still outnumber a combined Croatian and Bosnian Serb army with some 200,000 men, the government Army is still desperately short of heavy weaponry, something the Serbs have in abundance. [passage omitted]

Krajina Refugees Reportedly Under Attack

Muslim Army Slaughtering Serbs

LD0708140395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 Aug (TANJUG)—Members of the 5th Corps of the Muslim army began a massive slaughter of Serb refugees and also surrounded units of the Republic of Serb Krajina in Topusko, says an urgent statement forwarded to TANJUG today by Slobodan Jarcevic, adviser to the president of the Republic of Serb Krajina. "The evacuation of Serb civilians and some units of the [Krajina] army from Topusko, which had been agreed with the UN Protection Force, is being procrastinated by Croatian officers, who prevented it, until Muslim army 5th Corps soldiers entered Topusko and started slaughtering the civilians," the statement says.

According to an agreement with the Croatian Army reached earlier today, a great number of Serbs from the Republic of Serb Krajina awaited to be evacuated from Topusko to the [Bosnian] Serb Republic. [passage omitted]

Jarcevic has sent a dramatic appeal concerning this massacre to all diplomatic and consular missions in Belgrade, appealing to the international community to stop the crimes. The Muslims are attacking the refugee reception center in Topusko, where the 21st Corps of Serb Krajina is deployed and where most of the people from Kordun have fled, Jarcevic said. He also warns that the Serbs are resisting attacks with increasing difficulty because they only have light weapons. "It is obvious that the Croats are using World War II methods to get the Muslims to commit their crimes," Jarcevic said.

Croatian Air Strikes Reported

LD0708144495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 7 Aug (TANJUG)—The Croatian Air Force today bombed columns of Croatian Serb refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina in the village of Klenovac near Bosanski Petrovac, the information service of the 1st Krajina Corps has said. [passage omitted]

TANJUG's office in Banja Luka has also been informed about the Croatian Air Force attack on vast columns of refugees from Krajina by the Bosnian Serb Republic's Commission for Refugees. [passage omitted]

Bridge Bombing Traps Refugees

AU0808101695 Paris AFP in English 0955 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Aug 8 (AFP)—Tens of thousands of refugees were Tuesday [8 August] trapped on the Croatia-Bosnia border after a bridge in the area was bombed as UN and Red Cross officials stepped up efforts to cope with the humanitarian crisis spawned by the Croatian Army's recapture of the Krajina region. A total of about 50,000 refugees are blocked on the road between Glina and the border town of Dvor, south of Zagreb, and in the Slatina region further to the north, after a border bridge was bombed. "They're our main worry," Jacques de Maio, an official for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), told a press conference.

ICRC President Cornelio Sommaruga left Belgrade for Banja Luka in northern Bosnia, the Serb-held town

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where more than 40,000 refugees have already fled, to try to set up a humanitarian aid airlift there. Meanwhile some 20,000 Muslims who had been living in the area controlled by rebel leader Fikret Abdic have fled the region of Velika Kladusa toward Bosnia, the ICRC said, though stressing the figures were approximate. [passage omitted]

Martic Proclamation Urges Troops To Fight On

AU0708173395 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "An Appeal to Troops"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] this morning issued a proclamation to all RSK citizens calling on all militarily able men to join in the war against the Croatian Army.

The Serbian Army has not lost a single battle, nor has it sustained immense losses in manpower, Martic said, and added that "some towns have been deserted because conditions were such that they did not allow the population to remain in them," since the Croatian Army was relentlessly pounding them with artillery and rocket systems.

The troops are ready to defend to their last breath the centuries-old Serbian lands in Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun, Banija, in Slavonia, Srem, and Baranja, stresses the proclamation issued by the RSK president and supreme commander of its armed forces.

Appeals to Men To Return

LD0808111495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1036 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Drvar, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], issued a declaration today saying that he does not accept the occupation of part of the territory of the RSK, and that this also applies to the Serb Krajina Army, "which is fighting the Ustasha forces in Lika, Kordun, and Banija."

"I appeal to all able-bodied men from the RSK to immediately return to join the struggle for the liberation of our homeland in order to help the army and the encircled people, who have not retreated before the Ustasha aggression," Martic says.

He also calls on all Serb patriots from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and abroad to join the struggle for the liberation of Serb ancestral homes. "We must liberate our ancestral homes regardless of the length of the ensuing war and the ordeals we will experience," the statement says.

Aide: Martic, Army Command in Northern Dalmatia

AU0708155195 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 95 p 3

[Report by Z.R.: "The President Is in Northern Dalmatia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac—The Republic of Serb Krajina has not fallen as reported by certain foreign media; some of its territories have fallen and the Serbian Army has not been defeated in any place. In fact, it is the aggressor who has sustained substantially heavier losses. I do not know whether a counteroffensive by us is possible. I know that the Croats are attacking today and that they will continue doing so in the next few days, because they cannot bear not to occupy the Krajina in a short a time as possible, Slobodan Jarcevic, RSK president Milan Martic's special adviser told Radio Kragujevac yesterday. He particularly stressed that if the RSK were to fall, "the Serb Republic would not survive for long," which is why Krajina needs the aid of "all Serb lands." Civilian casualties are as yet unknown. People who left Knin on foot were shot at from snipers and other weapons, which is why the majority of civilians were killed in refugee columns. The Croats are also shooting at the UN Protection Force members, Jarcevic stressed. He added that the Serb Krajina Army command and President Milan Martic were today on the territory of northern Dalmatia which had not fallen.

RSK News Agency Relocates to Banja Luka, Serbia

LD0708150695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1227 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 7 Aug (SRNA)—The official ISKRA news agency of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] is continuing its operations from its correspondent offices in Banja Luka and Belgrade, the agency announced today.

The seat of the agency was in Knin and was then transferred to Topusko.

The agency has already started releasing news items from its new HQS; the agency is working round-the-clock.

Serb Radio Reports Attacks in Eastern Slavonia

AU0708203795

[FBIS Editorial Report] Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 7 August carries within its 45-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the country.

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The studio announcer says that "this morning, the Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] continued with attacks on the civilians in eastern Slavonia. The Information Center of the Command of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps of the Serb Army states that, this morning at about 0200 [0001 GMT], the enemy forces opened infantry-artillery fire from Nustar in the direction of Nustar-Gradina. The same source says that the activity was repeated at about 0400 from Nustar towards the villages of Pacetin and Brsadin. There were no casualties, and the enemy activity was responded to."

He adds that "the assistant of the commander of the RSK Army, Colonel Kosta Novakovic, has confirmed that the RSK Army has been resisting the heavy Croatian Army attacks supported by certain NATO means. He stated that, in the RSK, there is fighting in several important areas, primarily in Banija and Kordun, as well as in parts of Lika and northern Dalmatia."

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Commentary Deduces Negotiations With Greece Halted

AU0708200095 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 7 Aug 95 p 2

[Commentary by Nevenka Mitrevska: "Greece in Between Two (Auto) Blockades"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Matthew Nemitz came and departed, and the Macedonian-Greek negotiations, that is to say the dispute, remained where they were. To be honest—nowhere, in spite of the optimism with which the representative of the U.S. President in the negotiations arrived in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and also in spite of the "confirmation" about the same optimism that he allegedly received by Republic President Kiro Gligorov and by Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski in their discussions. Nemitz himself avoided answering the question asked by Macedonian journalists about the reasons for his optimism. When asked the same question, Minister Crvenkovski shrugs his shoulders. According to him, the U.S. mediator did not bring any new proposals to Macedonia. The Macedonian side also did not say anything new in the discussions on problems that are in the way of starting the negotiations and on issues that must be regulated with Greece in the negotiations, that is, if the intention is to make real efforts to solve the dispute and if the aim of the negotiations is not to reach an agreement for the sake of an agreement.

Macedonia's Views and Stances

In other words, in Ohrid last week Mr. Matthew Nemitz had another opportunity to witness the promptness of the Macedonian side for direct negotiations with the aim of solving the dispute with Greece. He could also hear why sitting at a negotiating table, under conditions of a protracted Greek blockade, does not guarantee equal status for both negotiating sides, let alone the negotiations themselves. It does not guarantee permanent and practical solutions for a number of the questions in dispute. The U.S. mediator was once again (and it was just another of the many times) presented with the Macedonian views and stances in relation to the blackmailing Greek demands concerning the questions contained in the so-called small negotiating packet. That is to say, which of these questions Macedonia is ready—in the interest of normalizing relations with Greece and reinforcing stability and peace in the region—to meet half way, and which are the questions that it is not ready to satisfy and why, as well as why it is not enough to reach an agreement in the negotiations that will only declare that, from now on, the two sides are no longer quarreling. On the contrary, it is necessary to define exactly the rules of the future activities of the two sides in practice and in mutual communications, particularly on the Greek side, on a piece of paper. Here it is necessary to start with the approval of the Macedonian citizens' passports and proceeding to travel documentation; respect for railway, post office, and other international concerns of the Republic of Macedonia. Mr. Nemitz undoubtedly knows, even if the Macedonian side has not told him specifically, that his beloved Greece has been enjoying the worldwide fame of a country that has been systematically violating internationally defined rules for a long time. Its signature is missing on half of the existing international agreements and conventions. This is the reason for its total violation of human rights and freedom. This is the reason for its defiance of the existence of minorities within its borders, not to mention respect for their individual and collective rights. This is the reason for its definitely uncivilized attitude toward ecology that has already resulted in destruction of Dojran Lake; this is the reason for the Greek blockade of the border with Macedonia, which violates two international norms—a border that is also a part of the EU border has been closed, and Macedonia has been deprived of its access to Thessaloniki, contrary to the international convention that guarantees continental countries access to the nearest seaport....

Blockade Against Greece

Mr. Nemitz has not been engaged in diplomacy since just yesterday. Moreover, before his visit to "this" country—as he called us several times during his stay—he spent his holidays in Greece, where he was undoubtedly able to be freshly briefed about Athens's stances. Finally, he himself says that this dispute is a burden for him, that he would like it to be solved as soon as possible, and that he himself is an optimist. Taking all this into account, we sincerely hope that the U.S. mediator has this time left Macedonia with the knowledge that the main problems in starting the Macedonian-Greek negotiations are not the allegedly endangered "Greek national interests," or the alleged "consistency" of the Macedonian president, but the Greek blockade of the border with Macedonia and the inability of Athens to find a way out. It is not only because Athens has been disgraced before all the world by this, but, above all, because the Greek Government undertook this barbarian measure based on the totally false presumption that Macedonia—being blocked on the northern border by the international sanctions against Serbia, having a poor infrastructure in the west, and facing the unannounced but existing blockade in the east from miles of waiting colonies and the intentional delay by customs officers—will not

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endure the Greek blockade longer than just two months. However, Macedonia has been enduring the blockade for 18 months now. It is true that the consequences are difficult, but they are far from what was expected. At the same time, the consequences have begun to be felt in Greece.

As some of its outstanding representatives point out, the Thessaloniki port is nearly defunct. Trading in the towns in the Aegean part of Macedonia has apparently decreased. The tourist resorts are half empty. In spite of all this, Greece has a prime minister who works (or not, depending on how much his bad health conditions allow him to) no more than half an hour per day. It has a ruling party that no longer hides its internal tumult. In addition, the main opposition party, the New Democracy, in which internal battles are no less fierce than in the PASOK, is the only possible alternative to the ruling parties. In other words, at this moment there is no political force or politician in Greece, there is not that power, that could bravely and pragmatically recognize the mistake and cut the cord that it tied around its own neck. It is probably this internal political blockade, which maintains the status quo in the country, that Athens's government spokesman Evangelos Venizelos had in mind when he stated in his recent interview for NOVA MAKEDONIJA the anthologic nonsense concerning Greek democracy when he called it "the most stable in Europe!"

Now what? Will the Macedonian-Greek dispute have to wait for a new political party to emerge in Greece, which will mature and secure a constituency and thus come to power one day, which will forget about pride and start the cleansing of the present government's shack? All we can do now is hope that it will not be necessary to wait that long. The present world is still very interdependent; the interests are too intermingled; and therefore the activities of the states, no matter how powerful and stubborn they are, do not depend on themselves alone. Greece is not an exception to the rule, on the contrary....

So, the "mediating efforts for starting Macedonian-Greek negotiations" continue....

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Daily Urges Polish Troops Home From Balkans

WS0708120595 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5-6 Aug 95 p 5

[Commentary by Maciej Lukasiewicz: "Let Them Return Home"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The escalation of the Balkan war has become a fact. All who are tired and—even worse—bored with daily reports from the battlefields will not get a break. They will most probably continue to read tragic announcements and accounts, feeling incapable of understanding the sense of the evolving events.

The trumpets were blown in Zagreb not to exert psychological pressure on the Serbs from Krajina but so as to actively join the war. The front pages and articles in the leading Croat dailies over the last few days did not leave any room for doubt this would happen. The shadow of war, which was thus far waged on the territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is now cast over the entire Balkans. One of the key issues at hand at the moment is what will Belgrade do. "What, if anything, can happen in the eastern parts of the former Yugoslavia?" wonder Macedonian and Albanian diplomats. Even Hungarians, the Serb's neighbors, are anxious.

It is not even worth asking what the so-called international community will do in this situation—the UN, NATO, the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe, European diplomats and politicians from large and small countries who are involved on various sides of the conflict between the Balkan states and nations.

It is already quite clear that nothing will be done to stop the escalation of this war. The futility of international efforts; the lack of determination; and the indifference to humanitarian aspects of the conflict, which has already taken a toll of tens of thousands of civilian victims, have completely humiliated world diplomacy and international organizations at the turn of the 21st century. Not everything can be blamed on the "difficult and very particular character" of the communities that once formed Yugoslavia, albeit it is true that it does not make the historical and ethnic conflicts easier to solve.

In this context, one may ask about the purposefulness of the further participation of the Polish military units in UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces], the UN contingents stationed in the war zone. Many UN soldiers have already been killed there, among them Poles. And more will continue to die, considering the total ineffectiveness of the action taken.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Internal Affairs explained the purpose of the Polish troops' stay by the necessity of European solidarity and demonstrating that we are ready to take an active part in all political and military operations carried out by European and world organizations, being part of which is a strategic target of Polish foreign policy.

It currently seems, however, that the force of those arguments has weakened considerably.

We have already shown what we can do. Now the Polish soldiers should come back home. It does not make any sense for them to serve as a fig leaf for the stark helplessness of politicians.

Oleksy, Right Wing on Walesa Decision To Run

WS0708131695 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by "M.D.Z.": "I Have No Choice, I Have to Run; President for President"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Lech Walesa has announced that he will run in the presidential elections because he has already collected the 100,000 signatures which oblige him to be a candidate. The president informed the public about his intention to run for reelection on Saturday during the inauguration ceremony of the World Meeting of Polish Scouts in Zegrze, near Warsaw.*

"I will officially submit this at a date that is legally admissible. However, I no longer have any doubts whatsoever. I have no choice. I have to run," Walesa said. A day later, at a press conference in Rzeszow, he confirmed it: "There is no force that could dissuade me from running for reelection."

Right Wing Facing a Moral Dilemma

"It is a good thing that the president has already said it," Jozef Oleksy commented on Lech Walesa's decision. He fears, however, that a campaign waged by the head of state will disturb the normal work of the government. "The political nature of campaigns, especially the campaign that will probably be conducted in Poland, may be very aggressive and shallow; it may introduce a black-and-white division among people: a group of good post-Solidarity people and bad postcommunists," the prime minister said.

According to Jaroslaw Kaczynski, Walesa's participation in the elections means that the right wing will face a serious moral dilemma: what is more important, high perches or the desire to make real changes in Poland. The president of the Center Accord believes that the latter cannot be accomplished unless the incumbent president is replaced by someone else.

When he submitted his candidacy, Lech Walesa informed that lists supporting his candidacy had already

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been signed by 100,000 people. It is worth recalling that signatures supporting Walesa were collected mainly by the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms (first of all in the south of Poland and in the coastal areas) and by a number of activists of the Party of Christian Democrats (first of all in Poznan) and of the Christian-National Union [ZChN] (among other places, in Radom).

ZCHN's Decision on 26 August

"Any initiatives launched by rank-and-file members or even by official activists of the party before the party's leadership makes the final decision are not the official policies of ZChN," [chairman] Ryszard Czarnecki assured at a press conference on Saturday when he was speaking about the "44 Initiative," that is, a statement by 44 ZChN politicians (such as Jan Lopuszanski and Henryk Goryszewski) who decided to officially engage in a campaign supporting Lech Walesa.

"The president's declaration is a political fact which we must take into consideration. Until now we lacked this knowledge when we were thinking whom ZChN should endorse in the elections," Czarnecki said. He gave assurances, however, that the statement made by the president on Saturday had not changed the configuration of forces in the party. Nor was the configuration changed by the results of the opinion poll carried out by "Solidarity," in line with which the best candidate would be Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz. "If you look at our party in the backdrop of the divisions in the Union of Labor, Freedom Union, or the Polish Peasant Party, you will see ZChN as a stable party," Czarnecki said, assuring that "a split is out of the question."

"ZChN will decide whom to endorse in the elections on 26 August. So far two names have been repeated in the discussion: Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz and Lech Walesa. Aside from ideological criteria, it is important to us whether a political camp can be built around these candidates and whether one of them will be able to prevent the election of a leftist candidate," the ZChN chairman says.

PC Fields Kaczynski as Presidential Candidate

WS0708134095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by "M.D.Z.": "PC Wants Lech Kaczynski To Run in Presidential Election; Nonrejected Candidate"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *The Chief Political Council of the Center Accord [PC] has submitted the candidacy of Lech Kaczynski, former president of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK], for president. "Our purpose is to introduce a candidate whose qualifications are undeniable and confirmed by many circles," said PC Chairman Jaroslaw Kaczynski, who is convinced that his brother will agree to run.*

"We have not carried out any sociological research as to what percent of votes Lech Kaczynski can count on. We reject opinion-poll opportunism. However, attempts to collect signatures supporting this candidacy show that these signatures can certainly be collected quite effectively. Kaczynski is a candidate who is not rejected by voters," said the PC chairman. For some time now PC activists have been collecting signatures on lists supporting the former NIK president, and results achieved in some towns were surprisingly good—such as in Pruszkow, near Warsaw, where a few thousand signatures were collected in just a couple of days.

PC leaders concede that they made a mistake when they gave their backing to Adam Strzembosz at first. "If we had fielded Lech Kaczynski right at the beginning, now his position would certainly be much better," they said.

"Lech Kaczynski will not be a purely rightist candidate or a partisan contender endorsed only by PC," PC deputy chairman Ludwik Dorn assured. However, he refused to say which parties PC had held talks with on supporting the former NIK president.

As president, Lech Kaczynski would make quite fundamental changes. According to his brother, he would introduce broadly understood truth in public life, and first of all put an end to the network of informal links. "My brother would certainly take advantage of the knowledge he acquired as NIK president and he would determinedly fight crime," Jaroslaw Kaczynski assured. [passage omitted]

Solidarity Poll on Presidential Hopefuls

WS0708131495 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by "PS": "President Gronkiewicz-Waltz Won the Covenant's Primaries"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Gronkiewicz-Waltz—38 percent, Walesa—23 percent, Strzembosz—16 percent, Olszewski—15 percent, Moczulski—8 percent. Such are the results of a poll carried out at the request of Solidarity authorities. The poll is to aid St. Catherine Covenant in fielding a joint presidential candidate.*

"These results are not binding for the Covenant, but should be an important factor in fielding a joint presidential candidate," said Covenant spokesperson Teresa Skupien at a news conference held on 4 August.

The poll was efffected in mid-July by the Solidarity Center for Socioprofessional Studies in Lodz. It polled

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approximately 1,000 people. At the initiative of Solidarity chairman Marian Krzaklewski, the results are to be taken into account in the process of appointing the candidate by the Covenant.

Included in the poll were five rightist hopefuls—Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, Leszek Moczulski, and Jan Olszewski, as well as Lech Walesa and Adam Strzembosz, who had not formally complied with the Covenant's procedures.

Respondents were asked three questions: which of the five candidates they would vote for; which of the candidates they would definitely not vote for; and for whom they would they vote if two candidates from among the five surveyed met in the second round of elections (in all possible combinations).

Answers to the first question shows that Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz is supported by 16 percent of the respondents, Lech Walesa by 9 percent, and Moczulski, Olszewski, and Strzembosz by 5 percent each. Simultaneously, 30 percent will not vote for any of them, 17 percent are undecided, and 13 percent claim they will not vote at all. We arrived at the results quoted in the very beginning on the basis of the assumption that only those who support "the five" will take part in the elections.

When asked for whom they would definitely not vote, those polled most frequently pointed to Lech Walesa, followed by Leszek Moczulski, Jan Olszewski, and Adam Strzembosz. Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz took first place in this group as well.

Reportage on Postponement of Elections

Politicians Comment

WS0808095595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by "(DOM, MACH, WZ)": "To Postpone Presidential Elections—Comments by Politicians; No One Claims the Proposal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Cimoszewicz divulges, Zych confirms, Kuron protests, Czarnecki is outraged, Kwiatkowski denies.*

Deputy Sejm speaker Cimoszewicz, who divulged that a letter including the idea of prolonging Walesa's term by two years had been sent out to politicians by Ambassador Stanislaw Ciosek, did not rule out the possibility that "the inspiration might have come from the Belweder." He also told us that "Stanislaw's action came to him as a surprise" and that it should be considered as "Ciosek's private initiative." Cimoszewicz "does not think that any talks have been held on this issue."

Belweder spokesman Leszek Spalinski told yesterday's "Panorama" newscast that Walesa has always supported the idea of holding presidential elections at approximately the same time as the parliamentary ones. There are two ways to accomplish this, he added: either to prolong the president's term or to shorten the term of the present Sejm.

Zych: I Only Heard About It

Asked by the media, Sejm speaker Zych reiterated yesterday what we had written in our article: He did hear about the idea, but he did not take part in the preparation of it. "I cannot see any legal possibility of delaying the elections. I think that is a bad idea," he said.

Kuron: Harming Democracy

Jacek Kuron, the Freedom Union candidate for president, sent his statement to the press: "Any changes in the constitutional dates of elections are detrimental to democracy. Democracy is harmed by any incomprehensible decisions of politicians, steps that give the impression of fighting for high perches and stretching the law for the sake of one's own interests. This is how Poles will interpret a decision to postpone the elections."

Czarnecki: A Fatal Concept

The information reported by GAZETA WYBORCZA did not take the leader of the Christian-National Union aback. Ryszard Czarnecki heard about the idea of postponing the elections quite a long time ago, "first from Lech Walesa's supporters and then also from his opponents." He would not reveal any names, and he rejected the concept. "It would demonstrate to the world that the Polish democracy is going through a crisis. In the country, it would perpetrate the fatal situation in which the parliament, the government, and the media are dominated by the left wing, and the president is unable to oppose this. To change this situation, we need a new quality and we need it fast: Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz."

Kwiatkowski: There Was Not Anything

Presidential Chancellory head Tomasz Kwiatkowski, who was yesterday at Wiejska Street [Sejm premises], said that the reports carried by GAZETA WYBORCZA prove there is a political vacation season in Poland right now. "To postpone the elections is politically unjustified. The president certainly does not care about that. After all, with the powers he has right now, he does not have any influence on the course of events in Poland. This was proved by the recent overruling of his veto on the law on privatization and commercialization."

However, the minister did not make any reference to the statement the president made in Rzeszow, where

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he confirmed to us that "the most serious people" had contacted him on the issue of postponing the elections.

Ambassador Ciosek was impossible to reach yesterday.

TRYBUNA Commentary

WS0808105195 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 8 Aug 95 p 1

[Commentary by Iwona Konarska under the "One Hundred Words" rubric]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bronislaw Geremek: "Humor taken out of school books." Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz: "a curious idea."

Tomasz Kwiatkowski: "It is a carnival joke." This is how most politicians preferred to note the absurdity of this idea, instead of pointing out very calmly that from the point of view of the law it is impossible to postpone the presidential elections by two years. And they did so rightly.

After all, we will not be able to get off the campaign train, which is slowly picking up speed and on which there are 28 candidates for candidates and all of us.

Voters who are standing on the sidelines of politics but who are to influence it by casting their votes on the assigned day realize that they would prefer an opposite situation—they would like the elections to be held as soon as possible. They would like to get the torrents of words and criticisms over with.

However, this idea is absurd as well. Elections cannot be held either later or earlier than scheduled. It is really surprising that in our "wishful thinking" we are ashamedly trying to skip or put aside the presidential campaign, which is a normal democratic procedure.

Perhaps, however, we are right, because the candidates will probably not tell us any more than what they have already said.

Speaker: Postponement Impossible

LD0708125295 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1200 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych has said that it is impossible to postpone the presidential election by two years and extend Lech Walesa's term of office. Zych made this comment following press reports today on a possible postponement of the election.

[Begin Zych recording] In the light of the Constitution currently in force, I can say that until there is a change in the Constitution in the legal sense, postponing the election is impossible. As Sejm speaker, I can give the assurance that I will never allow the Constitution to be broken. [end recording]

In the speaker's opinion, it is possible to enact legislative changes in order to postpone the election. However, in his opinion, these are theoretical considerations, because the agreement of all interested parties would be needed for this, and there have been no official talks on the subject.

Zych added that he would announce the date of the presidential election at the end of August/beginning of September, so the election could take place between 29 October and 5 November.

Oleksy: Delay Unconstitutional

LD0808092695 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0600 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Jozef Oleksy, it is not possible to extend the president's term in office. Speaking on Polish radio today, the prime minister pointed out that the Constitution does not allow such a measure.

[Begin Oleksy recording] It is not possible to extend the president's term in office. Anyone who has even a vague idea about the constitutional provisions knows about this. Thus, I regard this discussion as a substitute topic, typical of the silly season. The elections have to be held. The date when they have to be announced is approaching. The speaker of the Sejm [Jozef Zych] says that the end of August or the beginning of September will definitely be the time when the election date will be announced. All speculations have to remain just speculations. [end recording]

Ministry Communique on Information Services

WS0808075595 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 7 Aug 95 p 2

[Communique by Major Eugeniusz Mleczak, press spokesman of the Defense Ministry: "The Military Information Services Are Subject to Control"—date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with press reports of 4 August 1995 (TRYBUNA: Military Services Serving the President?; (II) Legal Military Information Services [WSI]; ZYCIE WARSZAWY: Jaskiernia Asks: Can WSI Do As Much As Office of State Protection [UOP]?; GAZETA WYBORCZA: Monitoring Is Not the Same As Bugging, Say Military Special Services; Can Armed Forces Plant Bugs?), all of which were published after the justice minister-prosecutor general filed a motion with the Constitutional Tribunal requesting a generally binding interpretation of Article 15 of the law

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of 21 November 1967 on the general duty of defending the Republic, I hereby inform that:

The amendment to the law on the general duty of defending the Republic, made on 25 October 1991 (Legal Gazette No. 113, Item 491), introduced, among other things, the current regulations of Article 15. The legal situation that developed at that time raised doubts in the WSI about the scope of "responsibility," duties, and powers of WSI soldiers as compared to the duties and powers of UOP functionaries. To resolve those doubts, on 14 February 1994 the WSI head sent a letter to the chief military prosecutor requesting him to ask the prosecutor general to file an appropriate motion with the Constitutional Tribunal. The prosecutor general filed such a motion in a letter, No. P. VI. 490/23/94, on 25 July 1994.

The motion that the prosecutor general filed with the Constitutional Tribunal is a continuation of activities begun at the initiative of the WSI in 1994. Steps made by WSI at the forum of the ministry team that was preparing the draft law on the WSI—headed by Danuta Waniek, former under secretary of state in the National Defense Ministry—were also to regulate the scope of duties and powers of military special services precisely and systematically. For the first time in the history of our country, military special services received legal authorization in 1990 (Article 2 of the law on UOP). Before that, their activities were regulated by secret ministerial normative acts, just as is the case in many other countries.

The press reports based on statements by certain politicians are false. The WSI are subject to control by the civilian minister of national defense, who guides their activities and who makes decisions every time operational-reconnaissance steps are to be taken involving the use of technical means in the case of specific individuals suspected of acting against the defense of the state. As far as the latter is concerned, the WSI are controlled in that respect also by the prosecutor general. Without his permission those steps cannot be taken.

Since the Sejm launched an initiative to set up a Sejm commission to take care of the issues of the special services, the WSI leadership has been fully supporting the idea, and WSI representatives have been taking part in the Sejm's work on the establishment of the commission.

Being an integral part of the Armed Forces, the WSI remain completely nonpartisan and they are not conducting any activities serving any political groups.

[signed] Major Eugeniusz Mleczak

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PDSR Head Denies Profiting From Oil Smuggling

AU0808094795 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 3 Aug 95 p 3

[Interview with PDSR Executive President Adrian Nastase by Marian Ivancu; place and date not given: "PDSR, a Long Distance Runner"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ivancu] Mr. Nastase, what is the essential goal of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] in the coming period?

[Nastase] The economy is being revived. If we manage gradually to assist each stage of this process and if we grant effective support to the operation of the Romanian economy, I believe that we are going to have great political, social, and moral benefit. I believe that we must react each time as much as is necessary. However, we have to do so with moderation. But we have to react.

[Ivancu] ROMANIA LIBERA has published a violent attack on the PDSR. It claimed that 15 percent of the profits from the illegal fuel trade to Yugoslavia ends up in the PDSR's coffers. What do you say about this?

[Nastase] The article published in ROMANIA LIBERA accused the PDSR of obtaining 15 percent of the profits from oil smuggling to Yugoslavia. Such incorrect attacks should make the PDSR consider very serious legal action. I believe that, in fact, we should sue ROMANIA LIBERA and ask for damages to the value of this 15 percent profit of the illegal oil trade that is supposed to have been carried out. I believe that these attacks on our party are attempts to damage our party's image.

[Ivancu] During the visits you have paid to various parts of the country you could notice the PDSR's force and popularity. Would you share your observations with the readers of DIMINEATA?

[Nastase] We have proved that we are a strong party that possesses a great force. In the provinces, in Suceava for example, I had the impression that we have to invent an opposition. I believe that there are some areas in our country where our party's position can be considered as good, others where it is reasonably good, and still others where it is really very good. We must strive to do the same thing in all the counties, namely to assert ourselves.

[Ivancu] Mr. President, the members of the PDSR Standing Delegation have also held discussions with the PDSR's Bucharest branches. What is your impression after that more than 12-hour marathon discussion in Bucharest?

[Nastase] Bucharest is something completely different. It is a city where so many things happen, where there are so many expectations, and so many problems and things that do not work! Things are so complicated in Bucharest that we need much wisdom and patience to be able to understand exactly what is happening in our capital city and then find solutions to the problems.

In fact, Bucharest is not representative of the country-wide situation. It represents something different from the rest of Romania. Therefore, the PDSR must apply another type of strategy here than in the other parts of the country. One cannot use practices from the counties in Bucharest. We will have to look for the best solutions that are suitable for each sector of our capital city.

We have held meetings with the members of our Bucharest organizations, exchanged opinions, and called for solidarity and team spirit, for imagination, force, competence, and energy directed toward the wellbeing of the party. At the same time, we have also called for the tenacity needed by a long distance runner.

[Ivancu] Mr. Nastase, what will be the PDSR's attitude in the next elections?

[Nastase] I am convinced that our party will win both the local and the general elections.

Official Refutes 'Excess' Fueling of FRY Planes

AU0708191495 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 4 Aug 95 p 2

[Report by Radu Tudor: "Paul Cardenas, Chairman of the UN Sanctions Committee, Asserts: The Romanian Government Has Violated the Embargo Imposed on Yugoslavia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After three years, during which the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—FRY] was handled as a sensational and also a long-forgotten subject, Romania is again entering the whirl of declarations. Following an article published by THE NEW YORK TIMES, the Romanian authorities were accused of knowingly violating the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia by the United Nations. Paul Cardenas, the chairman of the UN Sanctions Committee, clearly stated to BBC Radio: "The Romanian Government has practically violated the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia."

In a 3 August commentary, the BBC reporter asserted that Romania did admit the fact that it had violated the embargo, and that the airplanes that used to take off from Timisoara airport destined for Belgrade and that used to have their tanks filled to the brim (for a 25-minute flight) will no longer be fueled to maximum capacity.

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Furthermore, Paul Cardenas also claims that the UN observers monitoring the embargo in Romania are not ready to do their jobs properly. "Above all, I do not know whether they really want to do it [reinforce the embargo] at all. Many officials in the city of Timisoara have complained about the UN observers who grant export licenses for Yugoslavia to certain Timisoara companies. Besides this, I can also tell you about less amusing things: About 10 to 15 UN observers spend the greatest part of every night at the Jazz Club in Timisoara (next to the Flora Terrace, under the bridge over the Bega River—editor's note)."

Not wishing to comment on the relaxed tone in which the United Nations admits that its own observers do not observe their own resolutions, we have to point out that Romania managed to collect one more "bad point" by admitting that it had violated the embargo.

Thus, the international mass media was offered a further opportunity to reassert that Romania is defying the resolutions and recommendations issued by the United Nations and the United States.

Yesterday, on 3 August, EURONEWS television carried a report containing the following commentary:

"The Romanian farmers have begun to use their children to smuggle gasoline over to Serbia, a business that is being done along the 275 kilometers of the border. They believe that the police forces deployed there to reinforce the embargo are much less likely to open fire against children.

"The villagers on the banks of the Danube River have all quit their jobs in the factories, being attracted by the gains to be made from the relatively high gasoline prices.

"The Romanian Police have violated the UN embargo, but is using limited manpower to bring this situation under control." [sentence as published]

The Deputy Commander of Timisoara Airport: The Accusations Are a Mere Invention

Gheorghe Strimbeanu, the deputy commander of the airport, made the following statement to the ROMPRES news agency:

"As is known, the UN Security Council has partially lifted the embargo imposed on the JAT Yugoslav air company, thus allowing for their planes to operate flights to and from Russia, Romania, and so on. In this context, on the basis of negotiations that were conducted by the Transportation Ministry, TAROM [national air company], and JAT, it was established that each morning and evening a Boeing 727-type aircraft belonging to JAT could land in Timisoara to pick up the Yugoslav tourists transiting our country. Of course, the number of passengers taking such flights varied considerably, but there were only three or four such flights when there were no passengers whatsoever aboard the planes. According to international practice, we were compelled to ensure fuel for the planes, so as to ensure the security limit, namely enough fuel for them to return, if need be, to Timisoara, but we never exceeded that limit, as it is being claimed, when fueling those planes. It is true that, two weeks ago, JAT requested that the number of flights should be supplemented by two each day, but the Romanian Aeronautic Authority rejected their request. The rumors about us fueling the Yugoslav planes in excess are a mere fabrication, an absolutely malevolent one, the purpose of which is to put the blame on us and to make a mountain out of a molehill."

[Bucharest daily ADEVARUL in Romanian on 3 August 1995 on page 1 carries an unattributed report saying that "The Romanian Transportation Ministry ordered Timisoara international airport to stop fueling the planes of the JAT Yugoslav air company if they are en route to Belgrade and if they do not carry any passengers. Besides, the airport authorities are to deny the landing of aircraft if the number of passengers is lower than the maximum number of seats, the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman stated on Wednesday, 2 August."]

UDMR Protests To Continue Despite Concessions

LD0708191295 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Romania it will be possible, after all, to take university and college entry exams in Hungarian—in spite of the Romanian Education Law.

[Correspondent Tibor Bogdan, reporting from Bucharest] An Education Ministry official told Ferenc Asztalos, deputy of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] and deputy chairman of the Education Committee of the parliament's Chamber of Deputies, that Education Minister Liviu Maior had signed a decree ruling that in the academic year 1995-96, those completing ethnic minority secondary schools could take entry exams in the minority language in those subjects that they had studied in that language.

This indicates progress as compared with the law, which rules that entry exams must always be taken in Romanian, with the exception of ethnic minority university departments and faculties.

This, however, does not alter the UDMR'S program of protest actions. The decree does not amend the law's

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other articles that strip people of their rights, and it is valid for one year only. The UDMR must think in the long term, Jozsef Koetoe, UDMR deputy chairman in charge of education and religious affairs, told Duna TV.

Draft of Language Leaflet Adopted

LD0408190695 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a decision made yesterday by the crisis management team of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], the text of the Romanian language leaflet in which they inform the Romanian population about the Transylvanian Hungarians' ideas regarding nationality education has been drafted. Tibor Bogdan reports:

[Bogdan] The leaflet, entitled "What the Hungarians Want," is an open letter. It reminds the Romanians that within the Hungarian state they also fought a similar battle for their mother tongue. Now the Romanian leadership repeats the mistake of the then Hungarian politicians, because the Education Law will degrade the Hungarians of Romania to second-rate citizens, the beggars of their mother tongue. All they want is to feel at home in their own homeland, states the leaflet, which is to be distributed soon.

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Slovenian Airlines Suspends Zagreb Flights

LD0408151095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1349 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubljana, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian airlines Adria Airways suspended on Friday all its flights to neighbouring Croatia, the airlines said.

Adria Airways said it had been prompted to suspend the flights because of Croatia's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina, which started early on Friday.

Chief of General Staff on Armed Forces

95BA0288A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 1 Jul 95 p 17

[Interview with Colonel General Albin Gutman by Tomaz Bukovec; place and date not given: "Slovene Army—A Modern Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The chief of the Slovene Army [SV] General Staff, during his two years as chief, only gave a few interviews to the SLOVENSKA VOJSKA magazine, and as a rule did not appear in other media. Because of the increasingly more numerous issues associated with our army, however, he decided after two years, which is how long ago that interview was requested, he would also speak out to our readers.

[Bukovec] You have already been in Territorial Defense [TO] for more than 20 years, formerly TO, and today the SV, for which the last four years have been particularly important. How do you assess that period?

[Gutman] The SV's development during the liberation process was quite unique. Its beginnings go back to the National Defense Maneuvering Structure, which arose within the framework of the TO on the basis of the article on National Defense. The decision to keep TO as the Slovene Army was correct, because we had already had our own military force since the beginning of liberation. Since then, all sorts of things have changed, of course, and the road was long and intensive. The SV's development is still far from finished, but a solid basis that permits effectiveness has been established.

Training

[Bukovec] Our army has the weapons that TO already had before the war, and the weapons left in our country after the departure of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], but it bought very little before, during, and after the war. Some experts think that there are enough weapons and that, during this transitional period before the lifting of the embargo, it is primarily good training that is important. After all these years, the criticism that the military training system was still not the way it ought to be has been justified. I am thinking primarily of the training of the most responsible commanders. A year of training for an officer is probably too little.

[Gutman] It is true that the weapons we have today are what the TO equipped itself with in 1990 and 1991, or already had in its inventory earlier. I adhere to the opinion, however, that the key to development is not just in equipment, but rather primarily in personnel, because without them, the weapons are worthless no matter how good they are.

The organization of training is a reflection of our capabilities and needs. Slovenia never had its own part of the military school system, and the decision that military knowledge would be built upon general knowledge at a military training center was correct, in my opinion.

A year of training for future officers is only the initial part of the training, which is then built upon in various additional and quite specific functional training. There is also more and more training of our officers and noncommissioned officers abroad at courses, seminars, and academies. We thus have several students in the United States, at the Austrian military school, and we are also gaining a great deal through the Army-to-Army program, which is taking place between the United States, more precisely the Colorado National Guard, and the SV.

[Bukovec] The SV is headed by officers with an incomplete education, mostly from a nonmilitary background, and ranks are issued on the basis of positions (nominal ranks), and so forth. Some people are criticizing the SV for not advancing because of all this, but rather stagnating, even regressing.

[Gutman] The discrepancy between the actual and required level of education is a consequence of the SV's transition from the TO, and thus also the SV's inclusion in the state administration, where the level of education is one of the key conditions for occupying a job. We are aware that many of the employees do not meet that condition, and that is why the situation is being urgently improved through additional studies. The claims that the SV is regressing because of insufficient education are completely unrealistic and are based on evaluations from 1991. Those claims have been constantly repeated since then, but people are not taking into account the fact that during that period we have introduced intensive education at home and abroad. Nominal ranks are nothing unusual elsewhere in the world, either, and they will be necessary for at least a while longer. In just a few years it is not possible to provide officers with appropriate ranks for all levels at headquarters and commands.

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[Bukovec] Is there a shortage of personnel, primarily technical personnel?

[Gutman] An emerging army certainly does not have enough personnel! We are short of a lot of officers and noncommissioned officers, whom we will still have to train and employ.

Balkan Experiences

[Bukovec] There is undoubtedly a difference between training soldiers in peacetime and wartime. The best school for a soldier is certainly a bullet over his head. In view of the fact that years ago the TO was already training Croatian and Bosnian soldiers (I am not asking for confirmation of this), wouldn't it be logical for us to make use of their combat experience for the advancement of our army?

[Gutman] The Balkan combat experiences are quite unique, and are usable to the same extent as experiences from other battles and wars. The development of those armies is going its own way, which is dictated by time and the circumstances of the war. The war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia is unique, of course, and we are particularly monitoring it.

[Bukovec] Then you think that there will not be any more conflicts in Slovenia?

[Gutman] Our assessment is that there are few possibilities for a renewal of the conflicts in Slovenia, although that is also possible. In any case, we can feel the consequences of an intensification of the conflicts in our neighborhood, such as air space violations and a larger number of refugees, for example, and it may even happen that long-range shots, missing their targets, may land in Slovenia.

[Bukovec] But that is still not a war!

[Gutman] No, that is still far from being a war!

Combat Is Not a Game

[Bukovec] We Slovenes serve one of the shortest periods of military service in Europe. In seven months (legally, but actually six) it is difficult for a soldier to acquire the necessary knowledge, although I know that with extremely intensive drilling it is possible. I think that the drilling of our soldiers is too gentle, however! An army is an army, and has to be at least in step; the soldiers have to be as one, and not like ducks, all going their own way.

[Gutman] Military drills will undergo numerous changes in the future. Combat is not a game, of course. We are gradually fulfilling our commitment, written down in our program, that we want to have a trained soldier that will be equal to NATO soldiers. One of our biggest tests awaits us this August in Louisiana, when one of our units will participate in a joint military exercise ("Cooperative Nugget '95") as part of the Partnership for Peace. Forty-four officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers from the First Special MORIS [special forces] Brigade, who are getting ready now, will participate in the exercise, and the experiences acquired will be incorporated in our training program. In view of the experience that we have from reviewing various exercises, and in view of our unit's participation in the Czech Republic, there is no reason for concern about the training of our units. Of course, it will be necessary to modernize the programs, so that they will be more skilled and more military!

[Bukovec] Will Slovene soldiers then "beat" a precise military step again?

[Gutman] We have developed a special ceremonial step that is not as sharp as the JNA's was, but we will introduce it gradually. It is true, though, that military precision is not exactly a Slovene trait, and it is hard to instill it.

Combat Readiness

[Bukovec] As the top soldier, you are responsible for the SV's combat readiness. Recently, views have been appearing again about the SV's poor combat readiness; it allegedly lacks weapons, ammunition, motivation, knowledge....

[Gutman] Combat readiness is not a subject for public discussion or newspaper debates, much less rallies, anywhere in the world. I think that that should also be taken into account in Slovenia. The reporters who are constantly covering the Armed Forces and those who have a reputation as experts on the Army ought to be aware of what exaggeration in one direction or the other can mean. It is easy to say that we have a weak army, without weapons and ammunition, untrained, but it is not only the "old mothers" who read the newspapers and watch and listen to television.

[Bukovec] The TO is growing into the SV, i.e., from a territorial component to a spatial one. That growth was also quite apparent in the Rog '95 exercise, although at the end it was not clear who ours were, the red or the blue.

[Gutman] Within the framework of that exercise, we portrayed several defensive and attack activities. Perhaps it would have been better to use some other designation than red and blue in dividing them into two sides, because in the past that division represented the defenders (the red) and the attackers (the blue). The exercise was successful, because we carried out all of the

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tasks assigned, but the concept of the SV and its development from the TO is different. The growth from the TO to the SV is not just a mere transition from maneuvering forces to spatial ones, but rather a transition from one component to both! It is a unified army, which has within its composition both forces linked to a specific area, and also maneuvering units, mostly brigades, that are meant for action throughout the entire country. In supplying them with personnel and weapons and professional training, there will not be any difference between the two. Above all, it is not a division into higher-and lower-quality units.

Slovene Force

[Bukovec] My fundamental criticism of the SV is that it is less and less linked to the field, and that it is increasingly becoming a professional army behind fences, and not a force of the people. Today people view SV soldiers differently than they formerly did the Territorial Defense forces.

[Gutman] Perhaps that criticism is a result of the SV's organization. Our headquarters and barracks are no longer in the centers of cities, but rather on the outskirts. At one time many commanders came, if I can put it that way, to look at the headquarters, but that is no longer possible today.

I think, however, that your criticism about weak ties is not justified! We participate in various activities everywhere in the field, and furthermore the main argument against your assertion is that SV units are composed of reservists, from soldiers of so-called military units, and they are all civilians. It is true that with the development of training and the rise in the level of difficulty there are fewer and fewer areas where exercises are possible. We conduct basic exercises at the barracks, and the more difficult ones at exercise fields.

Direct contact with the population in the classic sense is possible only in major exercises, but judging by the experiences from the last exercise it is very good.

The General in an F-16

[Bukovec] A few days ago you returned from the United States, where you flew in an F-16. Does that mean that Slovenia will buy that aircraft?

[Gutman] Slovenia needs a multipurpose combat aircraft to control its air space and support its units. For a long time now our experts have been studying various types of aircraft, and there is still no decision on a purchase, of course. First of all, we will take into account the need for that equipment to be compatible with all the elements of our Army. The fact that I flew in an F-16 does not mean that we will buy that aircraft. During the visit to the Colorado National Guard, they also offered us a flight in that aircraft, which I of course gladly accepted. As part of an exercise at Backley Air Force Base, Brigadier Anton Tunja and I flew in that aircraft. It was an exceptional experience, especially because we were flying as part of the exercise and conducted military activities during the flight by firing at ground targets.

[Bukovec] How much do those visits contribute to greater effectiveness of the SV?

[Gutman] It is extremely important for us to acquire as much knowledge and information as possible about the organization, equipment, and training of foreign armies.

Our recent visit was not a courtesy one, and had professional significance. We inspected the Air Force base and center for high-altitude helicopter flight, visited their artillery-howitzer unit, and attended a combat firing. They briefed us on all the logistics; in short, we obtained several types of information that can positively influence our decisions. Our experiences to date, however, dictate that we cannot just adopt foreign solutions in the SV.

[Bukovec] Four years have passed since the war. At that time you were a provincial commander, and now you are heading the SV. Are you satisfied with the road that the SV has traveled?

[Gutman] When a person looks ahead and observes everything else that has to be done, he encounters a lot of different problems and also becomes impatient. There is no reason for that, however; one just has to look around at the road that has been traveled. Then the picture becomes considerably different. When you compare the situation from the beginning of 1990 or immediately after the war and today, you see a big difference. It is not just in the standard that we have ensured for the SV; it is obvious primarily in the SV's training, which we are successfully improving. A great deal has been done, and countless working hours have been incorporated in the formation of our Army, and all our members have shown a great deal of self-sacrifice. It is true, though, that even more needs to be done.

I am optimistic about the SV's future. It will become a modern army, and therefore almost certainly more interesting for employment as well. We will thus get more suitable, better personnel, whom we will be able to train at home and abroad! We want to form a modern army, appropriately equipped and organized, with highly trained officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers. We are striving for quality, not quantity.

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Strict Requirements for Italian Citizenship Viewed

95BA0288C Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 1 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by Milan Gregoric: "Is Common Sense Prevailing?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Koper—Three years ago (in 1992), the Italian Parliament passed a new law on citizenship that allowed citizenship to be acquired by all foreign citizens who were Italian by birth and all those whose ancestors were Italian citizens, provided, among other things, that they had been permanent residents of Italy for three years. As an exception, the law also allowed members of the Italian community in that part of the former Giulia province that belonged to Yugoslavia after the war (Primorska, Istria, Kvarner, and Dalmatia) to acquire citizenship even without permanent residence in Italy.

When the law was implemented, in spite of assurances that the law only applied to members of the Italian community, the interpretation that Italian citizenship could be acquired by "all those who had lost it, regardless of their ethnic identity" slowly prevailed. Protests began, first of all among the public and then later also within the official circles of the Slovene and Croatian authorities, in connection with the long lines of applicants that formed in front of the doors of the Italian consulates in Koper and Rijeka, especially last August, just before the expiration of the deadline for submitting applications. In fact, the Italian Government's unilateral and intrusive conduct was not only a radical departure from the normal bilateral resolution of dual citizenship issues, but also constituted a violation of the provisions of the 1947 peace treaty and the 1975 Osimo agreement because it created possibilities for Italy's interference in the internal affairs of the two new countries, when the political situation permitted or dictated it. The affair assumed broader dimensions. According to coverage by foreign correspondents, it also began to be dealt with by experts on Italian affairs employed by foreign governments, especially the Allies from World War II in Europe and the United States. Because of the tremendous pressure from applicants at the time of the expiration of the deadline for submitting applications (15 August 1994), the deadline was extended by one year, in spite of the protests. We recently also observed a protest by the Federation of Italians (LA VOCE DEL POPOLO, 21 June 1995), in which they thought that the Italian Interior Ministry's new decree on 22 November 1994 was harmful. That decree reportedly ended the favorable treatment given to residents of the former Giulia province in acquiring Italian citizenship. Furthermore, the decree requires three years of permanent residence in Italy and even mandatory renunciation of the previous citizenship (Slovene or Croatian).

The event went by, obviously without being noticed at all. That is indicated not only by the long delay in the protest from the Federation of Italians, but also by the fact that on the day that this article was written, the responsible municipal authorities on the coast still were not aware of the above-mentioned change. To be sure, there are still not enough sufficiently tangible elements for an accurate and reliable judgment of this important shift in Italy's policy toward Slovenia and Croatia, but it could mean that common sense has prevailed, and constitute an important contribution to promoting good neighborly relations.

National Bank Details Hard-Currency Reserves

LD0308195495 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 3 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak National Bank recorded by 26 July 1995 hard-currency reserves, including gold, totaling $3.152 million. On the same date, the hard-currency reserves of commercial banks were worth $1.566 million. In total, the hard-currency reserves, including gold and the reserves of commercial banks, were worth $4.718 million, Slovak National Bank spokesman Jan Onda told TASR.

Details of 1995 State Budget Examined

95BA0288B Ljubljana REPUBLIKA in Slovene 1 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by Andreja Rednak: "Rigid Party Discipline Does Its Job"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *If we wanted to exceed the government's proposed budget, we would have to borrow abroad.*

Ljubljana—Like every year, this time the State Budget is a very tough problem, both for the government and for the coalition and parliament. The already incredible delay in adopting the budget is proof of this. The budget memorandum was approved last November, and now, after eight months, the budget is finally in parliament, where things are becoming more complicated every day.

The difference in comparison with previous years is that, on one hand, the delay is even greater, while, on the other hand, this time the coalition has signed an agreement on the budget, which, to the great anger of the opposition deputies, is being adhered to, at least for now. In fact, during the four days of the discussion of the budget in parliament, the deputies from the three ruling parties did not adopt a single one of the opposition amendments and, instead, adhered rigidly

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to the agreement, which the presidents of the three ruling parties and also the chairman of the deputies' caucuses gave their word to and signed. Things are not going smoothly, of course. The longer parliament's adoption of the budget takes, after the coalition did not succeed as elegantly as the finance committee did in rejecting all 450 opposition amendments at one blow, the more complicated things become. If we forget about the difficulties with a quorum, we should at least mention the fact that many of the opposition amendments (already rejected *a priori*) are completely justified. Probably it is not easy for many deputies to vote, in the name of party discipline, against, for instance, several additional million tolars for disabled children, additional funds for aid to drug addicts, the collapse of the countryside, and so forth. The voters could still remember that too well....

On the other hand, it is also true that, in order to give 5 billion tolars in assistance to exporters and provide additional coverage for the losses of the pension (2 billion tolars more) and health care (2.5 billion more) treasuries, the other recipients have to tighten their belts. If that does not happen—i.e., if the coalition gives in—the budget could increase considerably above the 510.8 billion tolars, the amount of expenditures according to the government's modified proposal, that was agreed upon and is still bearable. It would be necessary to engage in additional borrowing abroad (in addition to the borrowing already planned, in the amount of 25 billion tolars), which would bring even more foreign exchange into Slovenia; foreign exchange rates would fall; and, in short, it would probably be the end for many exporters, who are considerably concerned about that much estimated economic growth. The only solution left is higher taxes or even new ones: The gasoline sales tax has already been raised, and changes in property taxes, as the last gaps in the tax system, have been announced. In short, it is unwise to divide up what does not exist. This year's State Budget revenues, to boot, were also not as abundant as the government had anticipated. There will thus be several billion tolars less in sales taxes than anticipated (it seems that a stagnation in commerce and domestic demand is occurring), fewer social contributions will be collected, and the state will also lose several billion tolars more in income tax refunds to those from whom it collected too much last year.

The painful patching together of the budget this year is thus nothing new, and, on top of this, the same story or an even more difficult one will be repeated this fall, when the government is supposed to propose the 1996 Budget. At that time it will be necessary to start repaying billions in debt to foreign states and banks, repayments for which there was a shortage of money this year. The urgently necessary reforms in the health-care and pension system, which would reduce the burden on the economy and the gray economy, thus benefiting the budget as well, are still being postponed....

[Box, p 3]

Yet a Third Provisional Financing of the Budget

Ljubljana (STA)—Even if the State Assembly adopted this year's State Budget and, along with it, a law on implementing that budget for 1995, the budget items and the purposes of the new budget could only be implemented after their publication in URADNI LIST. Because there is usually a delay of at least eight days after adoption, at Thursday's session the government adopted a decree on provisional financing of requirements from the Republic of Slovenia Budget for the month of July. During that period, the requirements of the budget recipients will be financed on the basis of the 1994 Budget and in accordance with the law on implementing the 1994 Budget. Its implementation will take into account the plan for liquidity for the month of July, taking into account the restriction that expenditures must not exceed one-sixth of the expenditures during the provisional financing for the January-June 1995 period.

Recipient	Modified Budget Proposal	Difference Between Initial and Modified Budgets (in thousands of tolars)
President of the Republic of Slovenia	254,097	—
State Assembly	3,664,205	—
State Council	305,003	—
Republic Electoral Commission	10,264	—
Guardian of Human Rights	388,350	—
Accounting Court	722,230	—
Constitutional Court	805,762	—

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Recipient	Modified Budget Proposal	Difference Between Initial and Modified Budgets (in thousands of tolars)
Office of the Prime Minister	811,077	+ 27,000
Government services	16,193,178	+ 462,000
Ministry of Finance	146,418,325	- 9,856,418
Ministry of Internal Affairs	25,588,670	- 113,000
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	6,332,675	+ 282,564
Ministry of Defense	32,420,186	- 17,000
Ministry of Justice	4,095,008	+ 19,000
Ministry of Economic Activities	13,369,920	+ 4,961,686
Ministry of Economic Relations	5,915,222	- 29,340
Ministry of Agriculture	14,030,532	+ 762,001
Ministry of Transportation	30,717,625	+ 2,341,700
Ministry of Environment	11,831,070	+ 777,498
Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare	100,321,633	- 786,101
Ministry of Health	4,378,027	- 20,000
Ministry of Education	84,803,286	- 143,000
Ministry of Science	16,224,089	+ 1,469,000
Ministry of Culture	12,419,846	+ 392,530

NOTE: The amounts in the first column already include the difference—i.e., the announced increase or reduction in funds. So far, parliament has already reduced the funds (compared to the modified budget proposal) for seven so-called nongovernmental budget recipients by almost 1.7 billion tolars, mostly for the State Assembly and the Constitutional and Accounting Courts. For the ministries, the proposals from the government and the coalition were mostly accepted—i.e., for the most part, the figures in the modified budget proposal are valid.

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Federal

Belgrade Youth Stone, Swear at U.S. Embassy

AU0708142295 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 95 p 6

[Report by I.J.: "U.S. Embassy Stoned"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last night just after midnight a group of several dozen young Belgrade citizens stoned the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade's Knez Milos Street. This was accompanied by swearing directed at the U.S. authorities. No one from the embassy's security was hurt, but some material damage was inflicted.

As we learnt on the spot, a young man first ran up to the security men, warning them to take cover. Immediately after that a lot of noise was heard, and the crashing of glass. The group soon dispersed.

The police arrived at the scene straight away, and carried out a preliminary investigation.

Abdic Reportedly Escapes, Settles in Belgrade

LD0808081595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 8 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After the defeat of [rebel Muslim leader Fikret] Abdic's forces at the hands of the the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the fall of Velika Kladusa, Abdic has escaped and settled in Belgrade. This has been reported by B-92, an independent Belgrade-based radio station.

Editorial: World's Response to Krajina Meager

LD0608182195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 6 Aug 95

[Editorial by TANJUG diplomatic editor Zoran Jevdjovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 6 (TANJUG)—The world witnesses a brutal aggression, not provoked by anything, against an area under the United Nations protection in the territory of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia which is today a UN member with full rights and responsibilities.

It is precisely Croatia, however, which has started a huge machinery helped, as is now already evident, also by certain powerful factors on the international scene and has performed the aggression that pushed 150,000 Serbs into an exodus.

What is involved is a shameless and long-prepared attack aimed at the total destruction of the centuries-old homes of the Serb people in these spaces and at the limitless killing of the civilian population.

It is the self-explanatory fact that in no more than two days, this many inhabitants of UN-protected areas have fled before the regular Croatian Army.

Bearing in mind that since a crisis broke out in the spaces of Yugoslavia, more than 350,000 people had already escaped from the Zagreb regime-controlled territories, all those who do want to see things clearly are well aware of the nature of the authorities of the former communist general and current Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

History, unfortunately, repeats itself and fifty years after the genocide against Serbs performed by the then puppet regime of the Independent State of Croatia, which had been perhaps the closest satellite of Hitler's, the Serb people in this space evidently may not stop thinking of its tragic history. Hence, what is concerned here is not an obsession about the past, but the struggle for bare survival at the close of the twentieth century.

This has been already the seventh attack by the Republic of Croatia on the UN-protected area which, like the previous attacks, is passing amid the international community's restraint and meagre diplomatic protests, but, unfortunately, bringing tragic consequences about which no one can reliably say how they will affect the future developments.

The Security Council did not protect the territory it had placed under protection with its own decisions. If only remembering the moves the international community has made in the past few months, an impartial observer will distinctly see that the nations in the Balkans do not invariably enjoy the same treatment by the United Nations' supreme body. Moreover, the world has become confident, also on the ground, that Croatia's genocidal action had obtained even practical support from the influential international powers.

NATO warplanes bombed Serb Krajina defences at Knin on Friday, even though Gen. Bernard Janvier, the UN commander in the Former Yugoslavia, had stated earlier in the day that Croatian troops had deliberately killed several peacekeepers and even though the Croatian ambassador had been informed in Brussels that NATO would protect the UN force in the field.

On top of that, ranking U.S. and German officials have expressed understanding for the Croatian action. Given the circumstances, one cannot help wandering what is the world coming to.

Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic has stated that the United States has acted as an advisor in the Croatian action and has much helped it, which is only a public confirmation of that what can be seen with the naked eye.

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The 1991 UN arms ban on all of the former Yugoslavia has only been a dead letter as is evident from the fact how strong and well equipped the Croatian Army has become over the past four years.

One cannot but conclude that we are witnessing a synchronised action not only on the part of Croatia, but also on the part of its foreign patrons whose goals are to destroy the Serb people's ancestral homes and to cleanse Serb Krajina of Serbs.

By failing to do what every sensible and goodwilled person expects it to do at this point, the international community is helping Croatia practice the genocide and is opening room for an unforeseeable escalation of the conflict.

For that reason, Yugoslavia has urged the UN Security Council and international institutions to strongly condemn the Croatian aggression and mass bombing of civilian targets in towns as well as mass murders and war crimes against civilian population it has planned.

Yugoslavia also expects the world to condemn the ethnic cleansing of Serbs and a military seizure of their territories, as well as violations of Security Council resolutions, of the Vance plan and the Zagreb ceasefire agreement that are a direct threat to peace in the Balkans and that have proved Croatia to be the major opponent of a negotiated settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

The Security Council should immediately halt the Croatian aggression and secure withdrawal of Croatian troops from Serb Krajina territories. It should also guarantee security to the civilian population and UN peacekeepers.

Remaining true to its commitment to a peaceful solution to the crisis, Yugoslavia is calling on all involved in the crisis to stop the Croatian aggression and the genocide of Krajina Serbs through diplomatic efforts, believing that the international community will respond in due time and prevent the tragedy before it is too late.

Serbia

Deputy Foreign Minister Views Krajina Situation

MS0808084195 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 7 Aug 95

[Report on interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Zivadin Jovanovic, by Zeinab Badawi, on 7 August; from the "Channel 4 News" broadcast; Badawi in London, Jovanovic in Belgrade—recorded]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Badawi] I begin by asking him whether there had been a secret deal with Croatia over Krajina?

[Jovanovic] Krajina is to be decided in direct contacts, in direct negotiations between Krajina and Croatia people. Krajina has a right to self-determination as any other Serbian people and any other people in the region. Therefore I can not qualify this news about so-called deals, otherwise than pure speculation.

[Badawi] Is it your governments intention to intervene militarily over Krajina?

[Jovanovic] It has certainly been a constant strategy of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to resolve all questions and problems emanating from any lateral cessation of former Yugoslav republics by political peaceful means. This has been the case when we supported the first international community plan, so-called [words indistinct] plan, from 1992, even before the outbreak of the civil war in Bosnia Herzegovina and this strategy continues all over through other plans, including with the last plan of Contact Group. Therefore our policy is constant and consistent. We do see a political means, negotiations, and dialogue as the only way to lead toward a stable and just solution of all problems in the region of former Yugoslavia. It of course does not depend entirely on Yugoslav strategy and Yugoslav policy as to when and how the peace will be secured.

[Badawi] Does your government accept that Krajina is part of Croatia?

[Jovanovic] Yugoslav government has maintained always the view that Serbian people in Krajina have the same rights to self-determination as the other people have already exercised. It is not acceptable not explainable why other peoples of the region would have the right to self-determination but Serbian people not. Therefore we maintain a dialogue as the only way of finding out the forms of such a right of self-determination. We do maintain that aggression of Croatia against Serbia, Serbian people in Krajina, should be stopped immediately by corresponding action of Security Council based on Chapter 7 of the Charter of United Nations and that Croatian troops occupying Serbian populated areas should withdraw.

Ruling Socialist Party Views Krajina Situation

Jovic. FRY Not To Be Drawn In

LD0708185795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1752 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 7 Aug (TANJUG)—Assisted by the major powers, primarily the United States and Germany, which has encouraged and prepared its strategy for a long time, Croatia carried out a serious aggression against the Serb people, that are now being threatened by a humanitarian

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catastrophe, Borisav Jovic, the vice chairman of the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], said in Kragujevac this evening.

Attending a meeting of the regional SPS committee for the Sumadija district, he said that this was helped by the lack of caution and the clashes between Serb leaders, who could not abandon their war goals.

Hence, unfortunately the SPS's advocacy of a peaceful solution has turned out to be the only correct approach. The only chance the Republic of Serb Krajina, whose only ally is the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which is under sanctions, has in the conflict with a far superior Croatia, openly assisted by the major powers, is at the negotiating table.

This is why the SPS will in the future, in addition to providing the greatest possible humanitarian aid to the people in the Republic of Serb Krajina and the Serb Republic, and to the increasing numbers of refugees who are seeking shelter in Yugoslavia, continue its political action in the international community in order to end the war.

However, the SPS will not allow the FRY to be drawn into the war conflicts, because this is precisely the aim of our enemies: To destroy all our victories and the partition of the Serb people and territory, Jovic said.

Jovic Blames Serb Leaderships

AU0708202495 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 7 Aug 95

[Report by Zorica Kovacevic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Kovacevic] The Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] regards Croatia's military action as grave aggression against the Serb people and is at the moment doing everything to alleviate the humanitarian catastrophe looming over the Serbs from the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], Borisav Jovic, vice president of the SPS Executive Council, said at tonight's session of the Sumadija SPS branch. Unfortunately, it has become clear that the SPS's commitment to a peaceful solution to the crisis is the only course of action. According to Borisav Jovic, in the conflict with the vastly superior Croatia, whose aggression was urged and aided by the superpowers, the United States and Germany, the RSK's only chance, with only the sanction-ridden Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on its side, were and are negotiations.

[Jovic] The situation, criminal and aggressive, was to a great extent aided by the local Serb leadership's carelessness, and the carelessness of the Serb leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The disagreement between the Serb leaderships in assessing the situation and the realistically possible, and what one can realistically strive for, has contributed greatly to losing what had already been achieved. Namely, it has always been clear to us that since the international community has recognized Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina within their borders, the peaceful option, in a situation where the Serbs were in control of their territories, was the best solution for the Serb people; therefore, political negotiations as a means of extracting as much as possible in realistically possible limits; that is, you cannot go ahead with maximal demands, but realistic ones, so that each side realizes its interests. [passage omitted]

Vujovic Condemns Pale, Knin

AU0708195995 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 7 Aug 95

[Report by Dusan Djitic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatia's aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] was condemned at the session of the Municipal Council of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] for Zlatibor County, attended by Dr. Zoran Vujovic, federal minister for traffic and communications and member of the SPS Executive Committee. It was moreover stressed that the Croatian Democratic Community authorities have again proven their fascist policy, but unfortunately they continue to be supported by the international superpowers, primarily the United States and Germany.

It has become definitely clear that the United Nations is an instrument in the hands of the superpowers. It is precisely these circumstances that oblige everyone in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and the Serbian people as a whole to be reasonable and to conduct a rational policy which is primarily needed to secure the safety and protection of Serbian lives. The maintenance of peace and the strengthening of the Serbian people's unity represent the most important tasks and are the main prerequisites for the Serbian people's survival. This was stated at tonight's session of the Zlatibor County SPS branch. Following the session, we asked Dr. Zoran Vujovic for a statement:

[Vujovic] The federal government has lodged a sharp protest with all the relevant international factors regarding Croatia's latest brutal aggression against the territory of the RSK, but it has also undertaken all measures necessary for the accommodation of refugees from the area, and for dispatching humanitarian aid to the Serbian people in the RSK and the Serb Republic. It is important to stress that Serbia, President Slobodan Milosevic, and the FRY have for years been investing immense effort into the implementation of a policy of peace which is our

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state's commitment; it continues to be our commitment and this is clear to each and every one of our citizens. The recent events, and earlier ones in western Slavonia, speak for the fact that the leaderships in Pale and Knin have abandoned the policy of peace, abandoned the single policy that was implemented and this has resulted in this terrible aggression and the Serb people's suffering.

The peace process and negotiations are the only option that can save whatever can be saved in the future, the people and territories, and can maintain peace in the FRY. I believe that we have to move in this direction and that there is no need for any panic, fear, or destabilization. We are capable of maintaining the FRY and the Serb people in the RSK and RS by implementing a policy of peace.

Krsljanin: Zagreb Threatens All

LD0708175995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1642 GMT 7 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sabac, Yugoslavia, August 7 (TANJUG)—Official of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia Vladimir Krsljanin said Monday Croatia's militant policy, that had become the biggest threat to the future of all nations in the region, needed to be permanently curbed by the international community.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia "firmly and adamantly urges peace and equality and opposes the dangerous trends that are threatening to reduce the entire region to ruin," the Socialist Party Executive Committee member told TANJUG.

"Aggression and ethnic cleansing practiced by Tudjman's legions are today a dark smear on the face of the international community," Krslnin said.

He said that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, like (Paraguay's) Stroessner, (Nicaragua's) Somoza and (Chile's) Pinoche, was a small dictator and a great criminal that was being used by international arms and drug lords to carry out dirty work and impose brutal state terrorism under the banner of democracy and human rights.

Krsljanin accused the Bosnian Serb leadership of pursuing an unreasonable policy that has resulted in a growing victimization of Serbs by international war mongers.

Yugoslavia last August severed all ties with the Bosnian Serb Republic and closed its border for all but humanitarian transports after the Bosnian Serb leadership rejected the Contact Group plan for a territorial split of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Krsljanin said that a return of the entire Serbian people to unity and the policy of peace was the only way of preserving its freedom and equality.

"A united policy of peace in international affairs can still achieve much, while the policy of war today inevitably leads to defeat, (more) victims and historical shame," Krsljanin.

The Socialist Party will continue to "stand most resolutely in protection of peace, legitimate rights of the Serbian people and all nations and inhabitants of the former Yugoslavia who have become victims of a blinding policy of war," Krsljanin said.

Estimated 12,500 Krajina Refugees Cross Border

LD0708164595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1550 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 7 Aug (TANJUG)—Following Croatia's brutal aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina, long columns of refugees have set off toward the Republic of Serbia. As part of this exodus of Serb people, the largest so far, 12,500 people have crossed the border into Yugoslavia. Among them are many children and elderly and ill people who need all kinds of assistance.

The government of the Republic of Serbia and the Refugees' Commission of the Republic of Serbia are doing everything to help the refugees and accommodate all newly arrived people. Huge efforts are being invested in sending constant supplies of food, medicines, and other material to the Serb Republic. All offices of the government of the Republic of Serbia and the Refugees' Commission are working around the clock to achieve this.

Relevant Serbian Government ministries will be fully employed to ensure the largest possible participation of Yugoslav and international humanitarian organizations in providing assistance to the refugees in the Republic of Serbia and the Serb Republic, the statement from the Information Ministry of the Republic of Serbia says.

Partner Poll: 37 Percent Oppose Military Option

AU0708091695 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Aug 95 p 12

[Article by M. Pesic: "Milosevic Is Still the Most Popular Politician"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbian president is still by far the most popular politician, and the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] the party supported by most voters. If an election were held now, the SPS would get 38.2 percent of the vote.

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These are the results of the latest public opinion poll conducted by the Partner agency. "Voters' attitudes about the most important political events were obtained in a telephone poll conducted on a representative sample of 1,000 people," Miroslav Sutic, Partner's manager, said in the yesterday's news conference. Like previous polls conducted by Partner, this one involved citizens of Serbia, but not those of Kosovo.

The most important political event for citizens of Serbia in July was the fall of some of the UN safe areas in Bosnia. A quarter of respondents thought that the presence of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic army in Srebrenica and Zepa was the most important event in July. Milosevic's visit to Kosovo was considered thus by 12.7 percent of citizens, with only 10 percent thinking that the most important event in July was the session of the Serbian Assembly. Almost half (45 percent) did not have an opinion about the most important event in July.

The following answers were received to the question "In the event of serious NATO intervention in Bosnia, should the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia get involved in the war": A quarter of respondents (24.4 percent) said that it should, whereas this was opposed by 37.1 percent. Not sure was the answer given by 23.7 percent with 14.8 percent having no opinion.

The increasing presence of the Yugoslav Left [JUL] on the Serbian political scene was considered by 18.8 percent as positive. JUL's appearance was assessed negatively by 13.6 percent, whereas 67.8 percent had no attitude toward it.

Milosevic, who enjoys the confidence of 22.7 percent of citizens and heads the popularity list, is followed by Vojislav Seselj, who is supported by 6.1 percent of citizens. They are followed by Vuk Draskovic (2.2 percent), Dragoslav Avramovic, and Vojislav Kostunica (2.1 percent each). Democratic Party [DS] leader Djindjic is supported by 1.3 percent of voters, Zeljko Raznatovic-Arkan by 0.7 percent, and Mira Markovic by 0.5 percent of the citizens.

Mr. Sutic of Partner stresses that these relations in the rating of politicians have been more or less constant for the last two years, except that there has appeared a large number of people who do not support any person in particular. Three fifths of voters (59.9 percent) do not prefer any politician.

Those who would vote in an election if one were held now (approximately 60 percent of the electorate) would give most votes to the SPS, followed by the SRS [Serbian Radical Party] with 16.2 percent, SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] with 12.9, the DS with 10.6, the DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia] with 6.5, and JUL with 2.7 percent.

The question "Should early elections be held for the Federal Assembly?" was answered as follows: A new composition of the Federal parliament was supported by 28.7 percent; 23.4 percent were against elections, 28.6 percent did not have an opinion about it, and 19.2 percent were not sure. Most of the opposition followers (65 percent) want federal elections, in contrast to only 19.5 percent of SPS voters.

Daily Sees Mladic as 'Confirmed' RS Leader

AU0708135595 Paris AFP in English 1328 GMT 7 Aug 95

[Report by Milan Dragovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 7 (AFP)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has thrown his weight behind Bosnian Serb forces commander General Ratko Mladic who refused to fall in line with Radovan Karadzic, leader of the self-proclaimed Serb Republic [RS] in Bosnia. The official Yugoslav media have made no secret of his support, which could be a decisive factor in the power struggle between the two main Serb players in the Bosnian conflict.

Karadzic, by taking command of the Bosnian Serb Army from Mladic, seems to have underestimated Belgrade's say in the matter, according to sources close to the government. Mladic has commanded the Army since the withdrawal of the former Yugoslav Army in May 1992.

The Bosnian Serb "parliament" approved Karadzic's reshuffle when it met Sunday at Jahorina, near Sarajevo. A day earlier, Mladic himself had denounced his sacking as "illegal," making it clear he had no intention of stepping aside for Karadzic. He was backed by 18 of the generals on his General Staff, mostly former officers of the Yugoslav Army, who said Sunday that they "would obey only his orders."

Karadzic and Mladic personify two conflicting strategies in the search for an end to the conflict. Nationalist and fiercely anticommunist, Karadzic, one Yugoslav diplomat said, "sees himself as the saviour of the Serbian nation, never mind the price to pay to see all the Serbs united in a single state."

He added: "Mladic, since he is on the ground, is more realistic. He knows the limits and does not cross them. He knows that in defying Belgrade, which is counting on negotiations, the Bosnian Serbs have no chance of finding an honourable way out of the conflict."

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The Yugoslav press was more or less openly writing Karadzic's political obituary Monday. The daily POLITIKA, under a headline reading "The Way of No Return for Karadzic," wrote Monday: "For Karadzic, Pale (his stronghold) is the centre of the Serbian nation. He ranks Belgrade as a province and has no scruples about discarding all those who think otherwise. Mladic is one of those." It added: "The situation is complicated by the fact that Karadzic is nevertheless a commander without a General Staff."

The newspaper asked if in this case, the Bosnian Serb supremo would be in a position to "start a military career." At least, it noted, he had not decided to "create his own paramilitary forces." Moreover, "Mladic has already been confirmed as leader," said the paper, recalling that when Milosevic appealed last week for the Bosnian Serbs to make peace with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, he was talking to Mladic, not Karadzic.

"Karadzic, an old gambler, has never got rich playing cards, but now he risks losing a lot more playing political roulette...the adventure into which he has thown himself risks costing the lives of hundreds of thousands of men," wrote POLITIKA.

Commentary: Mladic 'Ready To Accept' Plan

AU0708210295 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Radio Belgrade commentator Milika Sundic in yesterday's commentary prompted by Croatia's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], asks:

Will the United Nations share the fate of the League of Nations on the eve of World War II when Hitler was given license to do as he pleased in Europe? Had he not attacked Britain and the USSR, he and fascism would probably rule Europe to this very day, Sundic stressed. He added that fascism was clearly back, either in the form of a puppet state like Croatia, or in the form of the superpowers' understanding for the actions of the puppet states, Croatia or the Muslim government in Sarajevo. He said that there were many things in the RSK and the Serb Republic which were wrong and which are making difficult the Serb people's just struggle for national liberation and their territories.

Commenting on the rift between Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, Sundic pointed out that Mladic, although a soldier, was probably the one who was most ready to accept negotiations and the Contact Group plan, because soldiers know best what war is, unlike war profiteers who, wearing suspenders, stroll around Pale and whose interests are contrary to the interests of the Serb people in the Serb Republic. Certain of the Pale leaders obviously have aspirations not only to control the situation in the Serb Republic Army, but also to rule over some other political areas, quite obviously in Serbia, that is, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]. It is not in the least accidental that they have spokesmen in the FRY, beginning with those who are threatening to bomb Krsko, a nuclear power plant, which would not only endanger Croatia but all of the Balkans. It is a well-known fact that Krsko's turbines are cooled by the waters of the Sava River which flows in the vicinity of Belgrade. Therefore, this would be a massive poisoning of all of the areas here, a great catastrophe. This is supplemented by threats demanding the bombing of Zagreb with rockets which leave craters 300 meters wide, and so forth. These are essentially warmongers, and in principle great cowards, Sundic assessed.

He condemned the struggle for power at any cost, and said that western Slavonia had fallen at a time when the Knin leadership was more preoccupied with who was going to be prime minister, defense minister, or foreign minister, rather than how to protect the defenseless people in western Slavonia. The same is now true of events in the Serb Republic, Sundic warned and asked how it was possible that a celebrated commander had to be targeted at a time like this.

As far as the FRY and its condemnation of Croatia's aggression is concerned, it must be said that the FRY and Serbia would continue to do so, but that the FRY and President Milosevic continue to hold ajar the doors for all peace negotiations which would lead to lasting and stable peace. If, however, the international community continues to tolerate such acts of aggression, then it is obviously an an attempt aimed at obstructing the FRY from playing a crucial role in achieving a lasting and stable peace, the Radio Belgrade commentator concluded.

Montenegro

Ruling DPS Party Condemns Croatian Aggression

LD0408145395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1434 GMT 4 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—Montenegro's ruling Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS] on Friday strongly condemned Croatia's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The party said that such behaviour jeoaprdises efforts invested for ending the crisis and reaching a peaceful settlement and is indirect violation of united nations security council resolutions.

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All influental intenrational and domestic political factors should take energetic measures to halt the present military escalation in order to prevent further negative develoments of the situation, the party said in its statement.

The party urges the international community to finally take an objective stand and secure an equitable treatment for all parties in the conflict as a way to reach a general agreement on a cessation of hostilities and conflicts.

In line with its policy of peace and just political solutions the Democratic Party of Socialists will undertake necessary activities based on international and domestic engagments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in order to halt military activities and reactivate the peace process, the statement said.

Ironworks Demands Volunteers Be Sent to Krajina

AU0808132895 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 6 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by R.V.: "For a State of Emergency"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Niksic—We demand that you proclaim a state of emergency throughout the Yugoslav territory and provide for the sending of volunteers; moreover, we demand that you issue an ultimatum to the Croatian authorities with a deadline for withdrawing their army to its initial positions.

This is stated in a letter yesterday to the FRY president and the supreme commander of the Yugoslav Army by Vojin Djukanovic, general manager of the Niksic Ironworks Holding Company and Vlado Perovic, president of the ironworks' trade union, on behalf of more than 5,000 workers at Montenegro's largest company.

The conflict between the Serbian and the Croatian people can only be solved through negotiations. If the Croatian authorities refuse to go along with this, they should be forced to do so. No one has the right to dictate to people who have been living in the area for centuries who with and how they should live. The world needs to know: Serbs, our brethren, have never lived under either Croats or Muslims.

Opposition Poll Predicts DPS Electoral Defeat

AU0708075395 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Aug 95 p 4

[Article by D. Vukovic: "Is Bulatovic To Replace Kontic and Marovic?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica—Predrag Drecun, the chairman of the NSCG [People's Party of Montenegro] Executive Committee, said yesterday that there could be federal parliamentary elections and a presidential election in Montenegro at the end of this year. The DPS's [Democratic Party of Socialists] presidential candidate could in his opinion be Svetozar Marovic, the current Montenegrin Assembly chairman and one of the three deputy chairmen of the DPS, whereas Momir Bulatovic could become the federal prime minister.

Yesterday's regular NSCG news conference was characterized by criticism by Drecun and NSCG spokesman Zelidrag Nikcevic of the attitudes of one of the most influential DPS leaders, Miodrag Vukovic, as presented in the first part of his article "Once Upon a Time...," published in Sunday's edition of Podgorica's POBJEDA. Commenting on Vukovic's attitudes, as well as other signals from the ruling party, Drecun remarked that "there has been fear in the DPS recently that the ruling party might lose its absolute power."

"This is why DPS ideologists are starting a campaign to create fear among the people of the already certain demise of this one party dictatorship. They are claiming that if the DPS loses its monopoly, there will be a catastrophe, a cataclysm, the Italian syndrome, fascism in government, etc.," Drecun remarked.

"The reason for this panicky reaction by the ruling authority is that polls conducted by the DPS for its own needs also show that the political influence of the DPS has fallen below the level that gives the DPS and its SDP [Social Democratic Party] satellite absolute power," Drecun said, and concluded that the DPS "has proven that it is not prepared to relinquish power, which is slipping out of its hands, and that it will do anything to cling onto absolute power."

Nikcevic recognized in Vukovic's article the message that "only absolute power in the hands of the DPS can save the bourgeois peace in Montenegro. All the other parties are the embodiment of a horrible difference; and their possible cooperation or participation in power would be a catastrophe for the whole society."

In other words, the supreme leadership, through Mr. Vukovic, is revealing to us the dark side of the parliamentary system: Apart from the DPS, which, as everyone knows, is "the classic bourgeois option, based on European standards" (this quotation is taken from Vukovic's article), all the other parties can traditionally have "5 percent of parliamentary influence at the most" (also a quotation from Vukovic's article). "It is interesting that what Vukovic considers a promising division of power (in 1996) exactly corresponds to the ideas of the parliamentary system from 1946!," Nikcevic pointed out. "He is demonstrating the theory that the multiparty system is scarcely tolerable and is promising that the Montenegrin ruling authority will soon curb it," Nikicevic said.

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It is also considered by the People's Party that the DPS is going to decide to change the proportional to the majority electoral system. Mr. Drecun recalled that there was agreement among the opposition parties to oppose such a move, adding that there was no reason to fear the majority election system if the opposition participates contested the election with a shared list.

What Does the Poll Say?

In response to the question "Which party will you vote for in the 1996 election?" only 21 percent of 500 respondents (300 in Podgorica and 200 in Niksic) said that they would vote for the DPS, 24 percent said they would vote for the People's Party, 12.20 percent for the Liberal Alliance, 5.20 percent for the SDP [Social Democratic Party], and 4.60 percent for the SRS [Serbian Radical Party].

This is part of the preliminary results of the poll carried out between 10 and 28 July by the People's Party of Montenegro among residents of Podgorica and Niksic, 52 percent of whom were under 35. As for nationality, 58 percent said that they were Montenegrins, 37 percent Serbs, and 5 percent Muslims.

Kosovo

Rugova Calls For 'End to War in Bosnia, Croatia'

AU0708200395 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 5 Aug 95 p 1

[Report by B. Jashari on new conference by Ibrahim Rugova, "president of the Republic of Kosovo," in Prihtina on 4 August: "We Are for Total Peace and Not War in the Balkans"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At yesterday's news conference, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosovo, called for an end to the war in Bosnia and Croatia and to the Serbian violence in Kosovo. "Or stand is that the escalation of the war in Bosnia and Croatia must end, and that a political solution must be found. We therefore ask more for a solution through total peace than for total war, which would be catastrophic for the Balkans," the president of Kosovo said. He therefore expressed his appreciation of the great importance of the efforts of the Western world, especially the United States, to view matters with moderation. Dr. Rugova expressed his confidence that the international community will exert even greater pressure and that political solutions will soon be found for all the flashpoints of crisis, including Kosovo, which Serbia is seeking to retain by force. President Rugova expressed his appreciation of the fact that Kosovo remains at the center of attention of European and U.S. diplomatic and governmental circles, and especially welcomed the stand that the conflict should not spread to the south and the constructive attitude of the United States and President Clinton toward the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans. President Rugova said that the visit of President Berisha to the White House at the invitation of President Clinton was a very important moment for Albania and the Albanians. "Both Albania and Kosovo have very good relations with the United States," Dr. Rugova said, recalling the special care of the United States toward Kosovo, lest it be drawn into strife and conflicts of various kinds. He also remembered the diplomatic aid and help of other kinds that the United States has given Kosovo so far.

Human Rights Group Issues Report on Serb Abuse

AU0808083495 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 7 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Prishtina-based Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms (CDHRF) issued today a monthly coverage on human rights abuses carried out by the Serbian regime/police in Kosovo during July this year. One ethnic Albanian, Shefki Latifi (1930) from Podujeva, died of Serbian police torture, while as many as 784 others were subjected to diverse forms of Serbian police and regime in Kosovo within last month, says the report. [sentence as received]

Over the past month, 216 persons were arrested or detained by the Serbian police; 135 were summoned to report to the so-called police "informative conversations"; 118 Albanian families had their homes raided on by the Serbian police, commonly carried out under the pretext of arms searches; 110 persons were sentenced to prison terms; seven Albanian families were forcibly evicted from their apartments; 58 Albanians were beaten up by the Serbian police forces, while seven draft-age Albanians were conscripted by force into the Serbian Army, says the CHDRF report.

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The report also makes mention of other practices of the Serbian regime, such as harassment and intimidation of persons in public places, seizure of valuables and personal belongings, interventions against cultural, sports and other gatherings, persecution of political, human rights andeducational activists, etc.

Serbs Blame Albanians for 'Unfair Competition'

AU0708140095 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 1 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, 1 Aug—Having cleansed the "Kosovatransi" public bus transport company from ethnic Albanian personnel, the Serb usurpers now threaten they will go on general strike blaming private Albanian entrepreneurs in the travel business for "unfair competition." The Kosovatransi company, under Serbian control, is now reported on the verge of bankruptcy for lack of capacity to run the business. The Serb rulers now want elimination of private travel businesses (mainly run by Albanians) to make way for the public (socially owned) business, that is a free hand for exploitation of the Kosovo people.

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